Peace or war — time runs out IRA: what next for the Secret Army?

Guardian 2 with European weather

Thursday February 22 1996

Webmasters of the universe

Derek Malcolm hails three major films Marriage, mayhem and the Mob

G2 pages 8/9

Tanker pulled off rocks but marine life is threatened by 70,000-tonne spill

# The sea that turned to treacle



Tugs of war . . . one last heave and the Sea Empress is clear of the rock on which she was impaled — but the damage to nature may be terminal

#### Eyewitness

**Edward Pilkington** on Skomer

HE Wick on Skomer island in west Wales looked like a haven of tranquillity yesterday in an angry, tossing sea. Greater black-backed gulls were sheltering in the fissures of the cliff's sheer face and nearby a grey seal basked on a rock, if it is possible to bask in driving

in a few weeks' time, the Wick will be beaving with 14,000 guillemots, razorbills, shags, garnets and puffins.



An oyster catcher perishes

of rock, in one of the greatest densities of nesting birds in Britain. Despite success last night

in pulling the Sea Empress off | line appeared to have been | throat as if we were breathing | lands' fragile ecosystems," a the jagged rocks on which it was impaled, the oil spilled so far could turn this annual celmass disaster. Already there are ominous signs for miles

Only 30 metres from where the gulls and a solitary rezor bill are sheltering, the water has a faint, wispy sheen on its surface like the scunmy film in a kitchen sink. As our boat, a small fishing vessel called Sabre Tooth, pulled away from the island we saw the sheen thicken and deepen. turning the water from stony green to muddy brown. As we watched, one of the

greater black-backed gulls flew overhead. Its breast feathers were visibly stained yellow, like the colour of a smoker's fingers. As the boat rounded the Wick the shore

The source of this contagion was clearly visible beneath St Anne's Head, about four miles south along the Pembrokeshire coastline. Even from that distance the Sea Empress loomed, her hulk towering over the army of nine tugs that struggled to

control her.
As we drew closer to the Sea Empress, the area took on the semblance of a battle zone. A stream of Dakotas flew low overhead, dropping their dispersant bombs.

At a distance of half a mile

from the Sea Empress the wake of our bost turned suddenly into a bubbling caul-dron of treacle, the sea foam became corruscating and stung the eyes, and the air grew thick with fumes, scrap-ing against the back of the vapours in a petrol station.

The oil has landed ashor

along miles of Milford Haven estuary, drawing a dark line on the rocks along the high water and causing havoc for local wildlife. The question now on everybody's minds is whether a similar fate awaits the migrating birds about to

arrive on Skomer island.
The authorities in charge of the salvage and clear-up oper-ation insisted yesterday that Skomer and its sister island Skokholm were not in peril But environmental groups

adopted a different tone.

Dyfed Wildlife Trust said that tens of thousands of sea birds would be endangered. The enormous volume of oil. both raw and dissolved into the food-chain by dispersants, will undoubtedly have long-

spokesman said.
Alistair Macleod from the environmental charity Earth Kind was on board Sabre Tooth and witnessed the evidence of oil close to Skomer's shoreline. "People think of oil spillages as thick, black goo. But oil when it has spread into a thin sheet across the sea and is barely visible can be equally damaging by kill-ing plankton and entering the

food chain." Carl Wollocott, the skipper of the Sabre Tooth, has spent the past five years ferrying bird watchers from the main-land on to Skomer during the March to November season. He views the Sea Empress saga as a disaster waiting to

happen.
"We've been too lucky for too many years. In Milford Haven we built one of the

country's largest oil terminais, only four miles from this beautiful island. The

After almost a week . . . an armada of tugs shifts the Sea Empress into harbour

owards the port at high tide. Pivoting on underwater

wung around and propelled whether salvage experts remained on board

An estimated 15,000 tonnes terday, leaving barely half the original cargo in the ruptured hull. As much as 70,000 tonnes is now believed to have leaked out since the tanker ran aground last Thursday. The South Wales fishing

fleet yesterday imposed a voluntary ban on 40 miles of coastal waters. Phil Coates, a spokesman for the industry, said his colleagues were wor-ried that the oil would kill shellfish and affect other catches, and that public confidence would be damaged.

How catastrophe could have been averted, page 4; Pass Notes, G2 page 3

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**MATIONAL** 

### **New Scott blow to Waldegrave**

Richard Norton-Taylor and Michael White

ILLIAM Waldegrave, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, approved export of equipment to had when he was a Foreign Office minister, despite warnings that it could be used in nuclear, chemical and biological warheads, according to evidence to the Scott inquiry.
This latest blow to Mr Waldegrave's credibility came after expert analysis of the 1.800-page Scott report was passed to the Guardian.

Sir Richard Scott says in his report that since Farzad Bazofi, the Observer journalist, had only recently been executed - the export order was argued over in the spring of 1990 - and given what was known about Iraqi military procurement activities. Mr

Waldegrave "would have had an easily defensible position if there had been any public

The Iraqi order was placed in early 1990 with PMK Electronic Consultants, a com-pany owned by teaching staff at the then Liverpool Poly-

Officials from the Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Office, and the Department of Trade and Industry warned minis-ters in April 1990 that the equipment was capable of producing integrated circuits "customised for use in nu-clear weapons, chemical, and hislogical warheads and do biological warheads and delivery systems"

They added: "In the light of our serious concerns at Iraqi activity in all these fields, we have no alternative but to recommend refusal of the package". ogy in Baghdad delayed pro-Their advice convinced viding letters of credit, and in

degrave, however, argued that refusal to grant an export licence might seem "we were looking for excuses to irritate

Iraq for no reason".

Mr Waldegrave, in written evidence to the Scott inquiry. described the equipment as "a marginal dual use item". and said that "damaging British firms for no perceptible gain in diplomatic or other policy objectives . . . seemed to me to be stupid then and still does now Sir Richard describes Mr

Waldegrave's view as understandable. Ministers agreed to over-ride the objections of Whitehall experts. But the PMK equipment was never ex-

The University of Technol-

Alan Clark, then defence pro-curement minister. Mr Wal-that the licence would be revoked ... due to the events which ultimately led to the UN embargo on Iraq in August 1990", concludes Sir Richard, referring to the inva-

sion of Kuwait Labour and the Liberal Democrats combined forces yesterday to raise the stakes before Monday's Commons debate on the Scott report, accusing John Major of lacking the courage to face a vote on the issue of ministerial resignations.

The shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, led com-plaints that "the proposals for Monday's debate are a travesty of parliamentary democracy" because ministers were not tabling a substantive motion which Opposition MPs could amend to demand two sackings. Instead there will merely be a routine motion.

#### Republicans face civil war after Buchanan snatches key primary

Martin Walker and Jonethan Freedland

OPEN warfare broke out within the Republican party yesterday as the erst-while frontrunner Senator Robert Dole set off limping into a political landscape transformed by Pat Buchanan's narrow but striking vic-tory in Tuesday's New Hampshire primary election.

"This is now a race between the mainstream and the extreme," Mr Dole said here the morning after his humbling by Mr Buchanan — who was in South Carolina on the next step of his fundamentalist

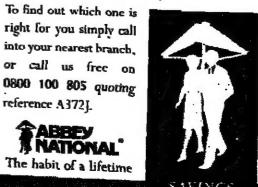
crusade.
"We are taking back the chanan told his supporters. we get there, my When

friends, we will be obedient to only one sovereign in America, and that is the sovereign

The final tally in the first primary of the presidential Buchanan heating Mr Dole by 27 to 26 per cent, or just over 2,000 votes, with the moderate conservative Lamar Alexan-der third with 23 per cent and the millionaire independent Steve Forbes trailing with 12

As the dust settled, Republi can leaders acknowledged that the splits in their party amounted to civil war. "Hold on to your seats. The ride has just begun and when it's over Turn to page 2, column 4

page 7; Loader comment, page 8; God's own coaliti page 9; City Notebo page 11



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he lunes are open Monday to Friday 9,00am to 5,00pm, haturday 9,00am to 1,00pm.

#### Sketch

### Toff question of early Scot draft



Simon Hoggart

Sway into parliamentary business yesterday, as it so often does. Phil Gallie, the Tory MP for Ayr, stood up during education questions and complained that the new crop of Post Office stamps, fea turing quotes from Robert Burns, contained misspellings. He seemed quite agitated.

Of course they contain mis-spellings. Burns was like the Guardian in the bad old days. Even when the words were correctly spelled, they didn't mean anything, "For the sake of old long since," for exam-

Do you know what "Scots, tha hae wi Wallace bled" (on the 41p stamps) means? Naturally not. A Scottish colleague tells me it translates as "Scots, who have with Wallace bled", but I am none the wiser, for a

Apparently the fuss is over the 19p stamp and its quote from To A Mouse. The Post Office records the opening line as: "Wee, sleeket, cowran, tim'rous beastie", whereas some authorities prefer: Wee, sleeket, coweran tim-'rous beastie," — as if it made the slightest difference.

And while we're on the subject, what on earth is "an hon-est, sonsie face"? Or "a cog o'guid swats"? Or 'I gie them a skelp": "Monie jobs that day begin, may end in houghmagandie" cannot mean anything at all.

Whistle o'er the lave o't" is the first line of a poem mysteriously entitled "Whistle o'er the lave o't." One of the more gripping passages in Tam O'Shanter reads: "Till ilka carlin swat and reekit, And coost her duddles to the

I expect cross letters from readers who will explain that this is reputable 18th-century Scottish dialect, and that it's no different in principle from Chaucer. Except that Chaucer has the excuse of writing 600 years ago. And I suspect that many of Burns's sophisticated, anglicised Edinburgh audience didn't understand a

The difference between Mr Gallie and Burns is that Mr Gallie is a rough, untutored fellow who is posing as a Torv MP and therefore a toff. Rab-

by the minister, James Paice, who murmured something obliging about Burns being a "national treasure". But then being nice about Burns is regarded as a cheap and mear ngless way of buttering up the scots, as if any of them were likely to notice.

Scot, Bill Walker (C, Tayside N), who introduced a bill which would enforce a refer-endum of the people before any constitutional change approved by Parliament actu-

abour's plans for a Scottish assembly, and Mr Walker called in aid the referendum which took place in Scotland and Wales in 1979. In fact, it soon became clear that this was to do with Europe. Mr Walker, a noted Eurosceptic, sat surrounded by supporters including Jacques Arnold, the MP for Gravesham.
I had thought Kent was

blanketed in snow and ice, but presumably Mr Arnold was dug out by the whips, rather as archaeologists find those 5,000-year old men preserved n glaciers. Mr Arnold certainly sounds 5,000 years old. The whole process was

watched by John Redwood, who sat smiling approval of what his boys were up to, like

writing an early draft of the Scott Report, which also contains texts for every occasion. "The best made schemes o' mice and men, Gang aft agley is a fairly obvious reference.

If the line "Facts are chiels which winns ding" means anything at all, it must surely apply to William Waldegrave And who can doubt this description of Sir Nicholas Lyell's behaviour during the Matrix Churchill trial: "Tho

### Bedsit tales amid He criticised Mr Major for Initially demanding the IRA state its cassefire was permathe stripped pine

Adrian Searle

Tracey Emin Habitat

OR one night only, Habi-- tat in Tottenham Court Road had a new, and alarming, shop assistant. Ask the price of a sofa, an ethnic drugget or a nice pine dining table, and Tracey Emin will tell you about her time working as a shop assistant in a sex emporium in Margate.

Instead of the tasteful and innocuous wares which surround her audience, Tracey is talking about dildoes, bondage tackle, and propositions from pher with wonky teeth and a line in amateur hypnotism.

Emin's attentive audience perch on spring season sofas while the artist stands behind the basement sales counter, telling stories about her youth in Margate: her life in a DHSS bedsit, hammered on cider cocktails, popping blues, a rape, a black kid murdered by

hard-case marines. Shopping trips to Habitat invariably end in fantasies of domestic violence, but Tracey is telling us about a life else where. The Kent coast lit up like Las Vegas, pubescent fumbles in the doorway of Burton's tailors, fake fortune tellers, fights and her mum's lesbian lover.

Emin has found herself here by way of an inspired pro-gramme of collaborations between Habitat and young artists, organised by Ben Weaver, He's more nervous than Tracey. Instead of Habitat's usual go-with-the-curtains prints and over-the-sofa

abstracts, Emin has appliquéd a bedspread with a poem about the more atavistic joys of sex and scrawled heartrending sentiments on the pillows

"I am crying not for myself but for you," reads one pillow All this could be toe-curling. but Emin, standing behind the till, reading from her endless supply of autobiographical vignettes, is made of sterner stuff. She exposes the details of the dankest corners of her life, from her schoolday punch-ups to her abortions. from her first period to the prat-falls of her lovelife.

Cube, the hottest gallery in and Antony Gormley, Now. show, reading and extemporising, hoping she doesn't sound like Ronnie Corbett. naked in an empty room in able to watch her through a

But now it's Habitat, and Emin is crying as she reads, talking about her disasters. her mum, her gran, and her Turkish-Cypriot gangster father. Her self-exposure is, of of manipulation, but looking down. I notice I'm weeping into a scatter cushion. This review appeared in

later editions yesterday

**Changes to London end of** 

ORE tunnelling at the London end of the Channel tunnel rail link has been agreed by MPs in changes that finalise the route of the 68-mile railway and add £170 million to the total bill of £2.7 billion. They are designed to

high-speed Eurostar trains assing close to their homes. The tunnel underneath ondon will be extended at Barking in east London, and there will be a less intrusive surface route near Mardyke

The approach at St Pancras station in London is also being altered to reduce its im-

bie Burns was a toff who posed as a rough, untutored peasant None of this was mentioned

Next we heard from anothe

Patrick Wintou Chief Political

to maintain his bipar-tisan policy on Ire-land suffered a seri-

ous blow vesterday when his

former Northern Ireland

spokesman, Kevin McNa-mara, accused John Major of

contributing to the end of the IRA ceasefire by equivocat-ing, fiddling and making

Mr Major's handling of the

ceasefire, he claimed, was a succession of "at worst bro-

ken promises and at best gauche political ploys".

abour's Irish nationalist

ement explain, although

ceasefire in August 1994.

ily upon the assumption to which he had committed him-

self. In so doing, he impaired

the possibility that rapid mo-

mentum on negotiations

might have acted to build con-fidence about his intentions

errors of judgment.

lly took place. Ostensibly this was about

Fagin. Back to Burns: another possibility is that the poet was

wing are likely to confirm Unionist MPs in their view that they should prop up a Conservative minority government rather than provoke an election liable to be won by a less Unionist Labour Party. Mr McNamara said: "John Major's successive errors of they do not excuse, the scenes they may gang a bennin wrang. To step aside is human." Whatever it means. of devastation in London." He condemned the bombing

Review

of Habitat's apple-pie beds.

Her most famous work is a tent on which she emblazoned ever slept with, and recently she opened a museum on the Waterloo Road dedicated to herself, which she intends should stay open for the next five years.

Emin also shows at White town, alongside Damien Hirst Next week, Emin is off to pain door of her studio.

course, a highly effective form

### Chunnel link route agreed

Political Correspondent

Park in Thurrock, Essex.

Alzheimer's. "To me it was the most bizarre finding on earth," Dr James Mortimer, of the University of South Florida, who wrote up the study, told the New York Times.

Blair 'backed PM's errors over Ulster' within the nationalist com-munity, Instead Mr Major chose to fiddle." ONY BLAIR'S efforts

Mr Blair 18 months ago largely for his pro-nationalst leanings — accused the Gov-ernment of equivocating on the necessary reforms in policing and emergency legis-lation. "Worse, and against the explicit advice of some of his own security experts, Mr Major insisted that the IRA, and in a quieter voice the Loyalists, decommission some of their weapons before all-party talks could begin. Decommissioning became be-came a precondition of talks, despite the fact that it is not explicitly mentioned in the Downing Street Declaration.'

Mr McNamara also at-Mr Major's handling of the Government's response to the tacked Mr Blair for "uncriti cally supporting each of Mr Major's errors of judgment". The most senior Labour Mitchell Commission - set-ting out six principles to politician publicly to break which all parties were asked the bipartisan consensus on Northern Ireland, Mr McNato subscribe before joining all-party talks — was de-nounced by Mr McNamara as mara's speech in Oxford high-lights the unease within a secan attempt to move the soaltion of the party over the stance adopted by Mr Blair and his Northern Ireland posts, and his biggest error. Mr Major came up with "a forked formula" that was ill-Moreover, his remarks, by

timed and misunderstood. "To Sinn Fein and IRA he reminding the Unionists of said: 'decommission something now and we will allow Sinn Fein into all-party talks, or let's have elections in Northern Ireland after which the parties with mandates can negotiate' . . . I am not sure he [knew] what he was doing That of course didn't stop Mu Blair from following him into the big hole which he had dug for himself."

He claimed Mr Blair's bipartisanship has not been mo-tivated by a desire to cut a deal with the Unionists or by inreservedly, but blamed the Prime Minister for repeatedly underestimating the need to a closet Unionism Instead Mr Blair had simply repeated keep the peace process going after the IRA announced its Mr Major's false judgment that "the IRA was always willing to make more concessions than the Unionists". However, Mr Blair's stance compounded Mr Major's error by making the Union-ists not only less fearful of a Labour government, but also less willing to negotiate with nent, but only later agreeing to make a working assump-tion that it was. He went on: "Mr Major did not act speed-

the Conservatives.

Mr McNamara called on London and Dublin to commit themselves to the Mitchell principles, to allow Sinn Fein and Irish America to restore the IRA ceasefire.

can nominee," Mr Dole said.

Only a year ago, after win-ning control of both Houses of

money and on-the-ground in-

frastructure in the 26 sepa-rate states which vote in the

Even so, the 24 Republican governors who had endorsed Senator Dole are faced with a

next five intense weeks.



Ed O'Brien as a keen footballer at the age of 12

O'Brien phoned | not been formally confirmed to them, Mr and Mrs O'Brien and their family are satisfied his mother every Sunday. Four hours after his last call he was dead

and Mary Carolan

The main street in Gorey, Co Wexford, a small market town which has remained virtually untouched by the Troubles . . . until now

THEY didn't know how to react, but in the end most of the townspeople settled on grieving for the boy they had known all their lives and for his family, not for the IRA bomber he had inexplicably become after going abroad.

It was beyond the limits of left them three years ago to work on the railways in Eng-land. Too stunned, angry and ashamed to face the media. the dead man's mother and father, Myles and Margaret O'Brien, issued a statement "deep sorrow and sympathy" flies to similar-sized towns in to the people injured in the England and Wales than explosion. "Although it has Trouble-torn Belfast or Derry.

that Edward was the young man who was killed in the London bus bomb on Sun-day," it read.
"Mr and Mrs O'Brien are deeply shocked. They did not know that their son was in-

volved in any illegal organisa-tion. Their son had no in-volvement whatsoever in any such illegal organisation while he lived in the family home in Gorey.

"Neither they, nor any member of their extended families have, or have ever had, any involvement of any description with any paramilitary grouping."
The statement added: "The

O'Brien family unreservedly condemn all paramilitary organisations and wish to have nothing to do with such want any paramilitary involvement in the funeral of their son." They then asked for some peace, to be allowed to grieve for him.
There will be no IRA fu-

neral in Gorey, a small market town nearer as the crow flies to similar-sized towns in As the IRA confirmed last night that Ed O'Brien was one of their members, the townsfolk were as bewildered as the family, behind the net curification with violent or terrorist activities."

The family of their idea consolidation that Ed had any connection with violent or terrorist activities."

The family of their idea consolidation that Ed had any connection with violent or terrorist activities. ains of their tidy council

Margaret O'Brien, a daily communicant earns the fam-ily bread by keeping house a local police inspector a market trader but is currently unemployed. He is known for his soccer enthusi-asm, which he passed on to

They have two more children. Lorraine, aged 20, is out of work. Gary, aged 14, is at school, probably destined like his elder brother to travel to

England for work. Ed left the local Christian Brothers school when he was 15 and started work at a local akery, where he was remem

hered as a cheerful teenager

who never talked about A few years later he grew restless and decided to try his luck across the water. His family believed he was laying pipes for Railtrack. Nobody had reason from his behav-iour to suspect a secret life.

They last saw him at Christmas, when he spent three nights with his grandmother, Mary, and celebrated his 21st birthday in the bosom of his family. One of the dutiful son's final acts before he blew himself up was to phone his mother.

Family friends said that Ed called Margaret every Sunday evening. The call home was 7pm - four hours before the Aldwych blast

At the town's boxing club, the secretary. Anne Sheerin, remembered how Ed was once defeated in the final of the county championships.

The local priest, Fr Walter Forde, remembered Ed as an altar boy. "The word I would him. "He was a very indepen-dent, tough, dependable, open kid, very involved in sporting activities. He was the last per son one would expect to be associated with activities like

there was "very strongly ex-pressed revulsion for the evil, depraved IRA godfathers who recruite impressionable young people into violent ac-tivities which end as trag-ically as they have done for Ed and for the injured

people."
A steady stream of visitors paid their respects. But a republican who arrived at the O'Briens' home on Tuesday evening was said to have been

turned away. Ireland's fight for indepen-dence from England has left few marks on Gorey. A stained glass window in the Church of Ireland church commemorating Captain Lea-Wilson's murder by the IRA in 1922 is the only reminder of this century's tumultuous

Outside the Garda station there is a granite plaque com-memorating the founding of the first society of United

Irishmen in Wexford in 1792. The United Irishmen wanted to unite Catholic. Protestant and dissenter and break the link with England. But when their armed revolt came in 1798, the middle-class Catholics of Gorey formed guard companies to protect the houses of their Protestant neighbours from the "rebels." In the modern Trouble Gorey, like most of the Irish Republic, has been left un-

touched. Republican and police sources agreed that the town is poor territory for would-be militants. Nobody sells An Phoblacht/Republican News, the newspaper of the republican movement. The paper is respecting the family's wishes, and in today's edition there will be no eulogy to a martyred IRA

week's front-page headline — "IRA Says Negotiate" — it would hardly have been a glorious send-off: He died that we might get a seat at the negotiatine table.

Dying for Ireland is no longer what young men's 'My only guess is that he dreams are made of. And in was recruited in London. Gorey it hasn't been for more There is great surprise be than two centuries.

#### Plain writing style may be Republicans early sign of Alzheimer's

lan Katz in New York

PEOPLE whose writing cluttered may be more vulease than those who write in complex, idea-packed sentences, according to research published

resterday. In a long-term study of an order of nuns. University of Kentucky researchers found that the women who wrote in dense, grammati-cally complex sentences in their twenties largely remained sound of mind while most of those whose prose was simple later succumbed to the disease.

Detailing their findings in the Journal of the American Medical Association, the researchers suggested that Alzheimer's disease. which causes progressive dementia, may be a lifelong illness which shows subtle are young. The researchers analysed

the brief autobiographies written by women before taking their vows at the Convent of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The women, all born before 1917, were on average 22 years old when they wrote the one-page resumes.

By measuring what they called the "idea density". or number of ideas per number of words, the researchers were able to predict with 90 per cent accuracy which nuns would later fall victim to

Southern states, where Buchanan will have to be stopped if his challenge is to be defeated. George Bush Jr is governor of Texas, and Jeb Bush is party chairman and kingmaker in Florida. George Bush and Senator Dole share an antipathy that goes back to their rivalry in the 1980 and 1988 campaign trails - when Mr Dole accused him of "lying" -

while Mr Alexander has been

Buchanan.
A crucial figure in the par-

y's deliberations will be its

last president, George Bush.

His two sons control the party

machinery in the two main

face civil war play plane at the Bushes' 50th wedding anniversary. But Mr Bush's greatest en-mity is reserved for Pat Bucontinued from page 1 Bob Dole will be the Republi-

chanan, the man he blames Congress, Republicans and academics were talking of a for his eviction from the White House in 1992. The telerealignment that would make vision commentator mounted them the natural party of govan insurgent challenge to his ernment for a generation. But as Mr Buchanan own party's sitting president in New Hampshire, and Mr boasted that his redneck Bush never recovered.

Aides to Mr Dole attempted. revolt was on course for vic-tory, panicked party officials rallied to Mr Dole's organisa-

result behind them yesterday, forecasting that the worst was tional juggernaut in the belief that only he has sufficient over for their candidate. Crowing that Mr Alexander and Mr Forbes had fired their and still failed to beat Senator Dole, campaign manager Scott Reed said the might of

dilemma. Either they deliver their political machines for a him to the nomination. fading and limping candidate who looks doomed to be denor David Beasley — a dar-ling of the Christian right feated by President Clinton; or they break with all party should help Mr Dole puncture Mr Buchanan, Little by little, explains Mr Reed, the canditradition, abandon their pledges to Mr Dole, and throw their support behind Mr Alex-ander as the way to stop Mr out the kickstart of a win in

New Hampshire. The strategy relies on using Mr Dole's mighty war chest, standing at \$6.5 million (£4.2 million) in ready cash, to obliterate Mr Forbes and Mr Alexander, leaving a straight fight against Mr Buchanan. The compacted primary

timetable will make cash and organisation all the more crucial, since there will not be the time for a state-by-state approach. "The only way to win this is with a national campaign," Mr Reed said. But the failure of Mr Forbes' war chest and Senator Phil Gramm's once-legendary organisation in the a Bush protege. He was face of the sheer commitment picked to join the Bush cable of the Buchanan Brigades net as education secretary, have rewritten the US politiand last year was invited to cal rulebook.

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rived in Pakistan yesterday for a two-day visit she infor a two-day visit she insisted was strictly humanitarian, but which some
local commentators claim
is designed to boost the political ambitions of cricketlitical ambitions of cr

The Princess of Wales ar- | ing legend turned social | Khan's mother-in-law, worker Imran Khan, writes Lady Annabel Goldsmith, Gerald Bourke in Islamabad. the princess arrived at La-

princess was met by Punjab's finance minister, Ha-mid Afzal Sindhu, named had declined an invitation |

to help Imran Khan in his humanitarian work," Prin-cess Diana said at the bouse of an industrialist friend of

Mr Khan's, where she is staying. "There is no other

retired from Test cricket a year ago. He has never en-

joyed a career of quiet sim-plicity. He was sacked as Eng-

land captain after the

selectors accused him of be-having "irresponsibly" in in-

viting a woman to his room

#### sale plans in tatters direct approach and it is of a very preliminary nature. As you would expect we have to Simon Beavis and Chris Barrie

Nuclear

billion nuclear priva-tisation plans were in chaos last night as ministers were forced to ad-mit they had been consider-ing the sale of Britain's reac-tors to Duke Power of the US, only to find the American company desperately trying to dissociate itself from any involvement in a private deal.

The confusion was com-pounded by the release of a critical report from the Com-mons Trade and Industry Select Committee, which raised serious concerns about safety and the financial viability of the sell-off.

With the Government in disarray, Labour called for the sell-off to be scrapped, while unions made it clear that they would fight any pri-

Responding to yesterday's Guardian report that the Gov-ernment could scrap its plans to sell the nuclear industry through a public flotation in favour of a trade sale to Duke, the Energy Minister, Tim Eggar, confirmed that merchant bankers working for the US firm had approached the Government's advisers with an

expression of interest. He denied that this meant the Government was about to abandon flotation of the eight most modern reactors but alternative offers in the interest of taxpayers. He stressed that the approach had been

"preliminary and indirect."
But, even as the minister went on the record over the issue, executives at Duke were back-pedalling over their interest.

A company spokesman said: "No one at Duke Power has expressed interest, and we have not authorised anyone to do so."

He admitted that affiliates

of Duke, one of America's bigggest nuclear operators, were taking a keen interest in roreign privatisation programmes. foreign

However, the Department clear that Schroders, the City bank working on behalf of Duke, had been in touch with tical about the privatisation. captain and accused him of tim of the 'wonderball'. Duke had been in touch with tical about the privatisation, cheating and the altercation. Shape Warne's impossibly the Government's privatisal which he described as "a

taxpayer."

He said the Government was "steaming full-power ahead" for a flotation, timed for this summer, while investigating an alternative approach.
The disclosure comes amid

negotiations between the Government and the industry over a multi-billion pound reactor clean-up bill. News of the American ap-proach alarmed British Ener-

gy, the company set up to carry chosen atomic power stations into the private A spokesperson said the company was still pressing ahead with flotation plans.

Robert Hawley, chief execu-tive of British Energy, yesterday sent a message of reassur-ance to staff, saying that the company was working flat out to be floated.

But MPs on the trade and industry committee told min-isters that their plan for a special fund for clean-up costs was inadequate. Warning that the taxpayer could be forced to pay for the £14.6 billion liabilities bill, the committee pointed out that British Energy could go bust if it was aced with paying all of its clean-up costs.

British Energy is holding out against government de-mands that the company pick up the entire clean-up bill and the row has left the flotation talks at an impasse.

The MPs are demanding that the company, and investors in it, should take on the full liabilities as well as assets, but this would depress Power in North Carolina the amount of money raised

by the sale.
The committee's Labour chairman, Martin O'Neill, warned that there were "seri-ous safety considerations" and called for boardroom changes and extra vigilance by the Government's inspectors to ensure the privatised company did not take risks in

pursuit of profits. The Government will start briefing the City on March 4 on the financial prospects for of Trade and Industry made it clear that Schroders, the City expert said that investors in bank working on behalf of the US and the UK were seep-

### Slurs in Imran biography win damages for Gatting

remarks," said the statement, | available in paperback with

John Duncan Sports Corres

MIKE GATTING, the former England cricket captain, received apologies and five-figure damages yesterday over claims that he "epitomised and brought to the Eng-land game, the outlook of a racially prejudiced and uneducated Englishman". The claims had been made

in a 1994 biography of Imran Khan, written by Ivo Ten-nant, and related to Gatting's famous run-in with the Pakistani umpire Shakoor Rana, in which he was seen on tele vision gesticulating angrily



Gatting and Imran during a 1980s Test PHOTOGRAPH DOWNERHER

The book, said a statement read out at the High Court, had accused Gatting of "un-

justifiably accusing the Paki- | ting "had been responsible stani umpire of being a cheat for stripping from interna-in circumstances in which he tional cricket any remaining downplayed the veneer of honour and

decency".
"The overall effect of these

onstrated himself to be devoid of the qualities of sportsman-ship, honour and decency ex-pected of a national cricket

publishers of the book, ac-cepted that Gatting was "jus-tifiably upset that these views were included in the book" and had stopped distribution deeply regret the publication of these wounding and damaging allegations for which there was no justification," said their counsel Rupert Grey. "They wish to express publicly their unqualified withdrawal of the allegations in the book and to offer their sincere apologies to [Mr Gatting] for the distress and injury he has suffered."
The book, which is still

the offending sections captain to win the Ashe removed, has already caused a few headlines. In it Imran admitted that he cheated by tampering with the ball to

make it swing. Imran, who co-operated fully with the author of the book, has apologised in writing to Gatting, stressing that he holds Gatting "in great respect as a sportsman". The Shakoor incident oc-cured at Faisalabad in Decem-

cured at Faisalabad in Decem-ber 1987 when the umpire stopped play as the England bowler Eddie Hemmings was in his run-up, because a fielder was being moved. Gat-ting told the umpire that he had already informed the batsman, at which point Sha-

for a late night drink on the eve of a Test match innings. although Gatting has always maintained that nothing im-proper happened. His Test career was interrupted by his decision to join a rebel tour of South Africa, after which his wife received death threats and he had to hire a security

firm to guard his house.

As well as his finger-pointing in 1987, Gatting is etched koor swore at the England in cricket history as the vicoverheard by on-the-pitch microphones, occurred.
Gatting, the last England clean-bowled him.

Legspun first delivery in an tion advisers, BZW, with an expression of interest.

On BBC Radio, Mr Eggar makes Railtrack look like a piece of cake."

### **Health of Chinese dissident** deteriorates in freezing cell

John Gittings

XCEPTIONAL security surrounds China's most famous dissident, We Jingsheng, who is immured in a northern labour camp as fears grow over his health. His isolation block is guarded tightly behind four separate sets of walls, and he is said to be limping and in pain.

Mr Wei, aged 45, was re-sen tenced last December to 14 years in jail, after serving almost all of a 15-year sentence imposed in 1979. Then, Deng Kiaoping. China's paramount leader, put Mr Wei on a special list for criticising him a list from which he has not been removed.

Visitors must enter an elaborate complex to reach Mr Wei's detention room. The whole complex is enclosed by the outer wall of the East He-bei No 1 Prison in Tangshan City.
Mr Wei spent several years

there in the early 1990s after being moved from north-west China where local prison authorities feared he might die on their hands. Supporters of Mr Wei say his conditions are worse, and they fear his health has deteriorated dangerously. Mr Wei complains of very painful knee joints. He has be come thinner and has a suspected heart condition. Prison authorities say writ-ten application must be made before a specialist can exam-

During his previous impris-onment Mr Wei lost most of could cook especially soft food. After the Beijing massacre the stove was taken away. His jailers said it had been given to him under the "poisonous influence" of the for-



Wei Jingsheng faces 14 years in jail, where he has been almost continuously since 1979

mer party leader Zhao Ziyang (sacked for being sympathetic to the Tiananmen Square stu-dents). Mr Wel went on hunger strike until it was restored.

This time Mr Wei again has no stove though both of the his teeth and was provided with a stove on which he rould cook especially soft food. After the Beijing massastove his own room is very cold and damp in the bitter. north Chinese winter. Mr Wei was freed from his

previous sentence six months discover where he was held early, in September 1993. His until last December when he early, in September 1993. His family claims he was fed drugs to put on weight and seem more healthy.

After release he refused to remain silent, calling for de-mocracy within and inside the Chinese Communist Party. He enraged the govern-ment by urging the US not to grant China Most Favoured Nation trading status and was re-detained in April 1994. His family was unable to Hig brother, G2 page 5

was jailed after a hasty trial for "attempting to overthrow the Chinese government".

Supporters are seeking to mobilise protest through the European Union and at next month's meeting of the United Nations human rights nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize last year.



ine him.

How could this man who had, as far as I was concerned. invented bisexuality and glittery nail varnish end up as a wallpaper designer, living in Switzerland and accepting awards for long term service from the likes of Tony Blair? What has happened to the world?

Suzanne Moore





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Labour says oil disaster could have been avoided had Government acted on all Lord Donaldson's recommendations

# Ministers 'ignored Braer lesson'

#### Strong tug could have aided tanker

David Fairhall

POWERFUL salvage tug would have been available to help free the Sea Empress from rocks on the South Wales coast if the Government had immediately accepted tanker safety recommendations following the Braer disaster three years ago. Its 130,000 tonnes of oil are now threatenvironmental

catastrophe. Two tugs were contracted at government expense for emergencies this winter, but they are based at Dover and Stornaway, in the Hebrides, and were not called for by the salvage team struggling to save the Sea Empress at Mit-ford Haven. A third tug for the Western Approaches, recommended as a next step in Lord Donaldson's May 1994 report on the loss of the Braer, has not yet been

Yesterday the Department of Transport conceded that filling that gap "will certainly be foremost in the minds" of the marine accident investigators preparing a report on the Sea Empress as the Gov-ernment's handling of the problem came under renewed

While the shipping minister. Lord Goschen, insisted that the department had acreport — Safer Ships, Cleaner Seas - Labour claimed crunored and said that more tugs should have been stationed around Britain's coastline.

Among Lord Donaldson's 103 recommendations was a proposal to provide an emer gency towing capability where the danger of tanker accidents and pollution was greatest.

His report said: "We believe that the way forward is to consider first how the two key areas — the Dover Strait and North West Scotland can best be provided with strong tugs. The Western Approaches should be considered next.

The following year, the then transport secretary. Brian Mawhinney, an-nounced that he was accepttions, and established two emergency rugs at Stormaway and Dover at a cost of £2 mil-lion a year.

But no contract was pro vided for the south-western coast, although Smit Tak and Cory Towage, two of the companies involved at Milford Haven, did agree informally to keep the Coastguard posted on the whereabouts of the

large tug. Kondor. And whereas tug operators were originally asked to tender for a three to five-year standby at Dover and Storno way, the government contract was suddenly reduced to provide only six months winter

In the event, the Kondor was working in Spain when the Sea Empress ran aground last week. Its place was taken



Clean-up starts . . . two members of the Texaco Natural History Club picking up hird victims of the Sea Empress spill

Dover Strait and in the at the issue. "It's the Govern-

permanent emergency tug in the Western Approaches would have made any difference. Stephen Dennison, a member of the Sea Empress salvage team, said: "It would have enabled one tug to be

took 24 hours to arrive. Asked | here a few hours accorder. | Lord Goschen said the Gov-yesterday if the provision of a | That's a very fine balance of | ernment had accepted Don-

"The ship had run aground at 8pm on Thursday and the Milford Haven harbour tugs owned by Cory had already pulled her off by 10pm."

aldson's recommendation to station tugs in locations with the highest risk.

"We contracted an indepen-dent tugs study into where we have set up tugs in the recalled immediately to look

ment's fault that the Donald-But Labour accused the Government of failing to pronot implemented. He said you have to have tugs of a certain vide sufficient emergency cover. The shadow transport pulling strength standing by secretary. Clare Short, said and there are not many

Lord Donaldson should be

port West, Paul Flynn, said: This has already become an environmental catastrophe as the Government has not brought the heavy tugs they should have. It was a precise recommendation in the report after the Braer disaster."

#### Extent of oil pollution makes spill drop in ocean

Tim Radford

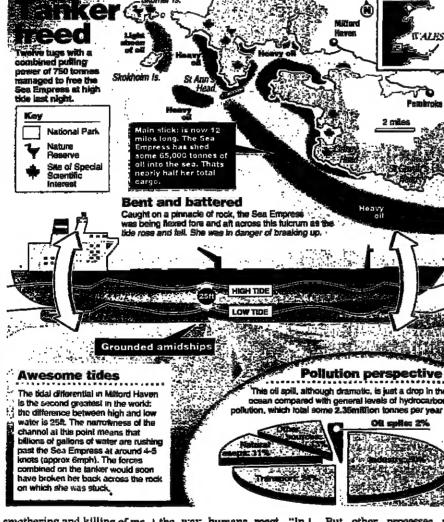
THE OIL that oozed from the shattered hull of the Sea Empress aground off Mil-ford Haven spread like a marine biologists pointed out yesterday, even 50,000 tonnes literally a drop in the ocean compared with the global assault on the environment by human use of oil.

One estimate puts the continuous, chronic poisoning of the environment by hydrocar-bon pollution at 2.35 million tonnes a year. According to a US National Science Foundation study, only two per cent comes from the hulls of tankers or spills at oil rigs.

Eleven per cent comes from natural sources — tar sands and oil seeps — 13 per cent from the atmosphere, 24 per cent from all forms of transport and an astonishing 50 per cent slithers down the drains and rivers and into the from cities and industries, "Because it is a chronic

input and not visible, like oil spills, it hasn't been noticed before," said Dr John Widdows, of the Plymouth Marine Laboratory, who has been working on ways to measure "But actually the oil entering the environment from oil spills and tanker operations is only about 2 per cent of the

nut it into perspective."
But each menacing slick from the Torrey Canyon in 1907 off Lands End. the Amoco Cadiz off Ushant in the Exxon Valdez in



cleared that up, there are less visible effects. The oil is mixed into the water column and accumulated to quite bulldozing job." be said. mixed into the water column high concentrations into the body tissues of animals, and these obviously have sub-lethal toxic effects."

But each case is different.
The destruction depends on
the kind and quantity of oil

Shetland in 1983 — sets off accident, the weather, the language. There is the obvious effects in the language of local wildlife and even letters to attack by microbes.

It really depends on the time of year of the toxins once exposed to air, and what effect it has on the algae. The wind direction, the environment, the mix of local wildlife and even letters to attack by microbes.

From the 28th February we shall be operating the

very first charter flight series from this country to the fascinating city of Damascus - the oldest living city in the world and Islamic capital under the

The exploration of the city has to be on foot, navigating the tortuous alleys of the old city is wonderful and for many the highlight will be a visit

to the Church of Ananaias at the end of the Street

called Straight. Here the stories of the Bible come tolife irrespective of your religious beliefs. You will have the chance the see the Chapel commemorat-

ing the lowering down of St Paul from a window. . Although visiting Damascus with its fine muse-ums and ancient buildings could consume the

whole of your week, it is also an ideal starting off point for excursions to the famous sights of Palmyra.

Maaloula, Crac des Chevaliers and Bosra - all at a

tariff on the indicated departures on a first-re-served first-assigned basis of just £395.00 per per-son in a twin bedded room which includes return

flights (based on Gatwick), transfers, room and

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smothering and killing of matthe way humans react. "In rine life, But when you have terms of the clean-up opera-

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tion, we have learned from the past that it is much better "There are some beaches and some areas where you want to use detergents. But a rocky shore is very difficult to clean

A light crude oil from the North Sea is likely to surren-der quickly its more volatile

But other processes also be at work. Crabs, bi-valves and fish will also be valves and fish will also be concentrating quantities of poisons in their tissues; some of these will be more toxic

than the original poisons.

The lesson of most of the major oil spills in temperate waters was that it took "It really depends on the

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#### Government's youngest member left at the helm to brave waves of criticism over handling of spill

Political Correspondent

HE little-known ship-ping minister and he-reditary peer Lord Goschen has found himself thrust into the media spotlight by the maritime catastrophe of the Sea Empress oil spill.

chen was appointed as a ignior transport minister in July 1994 at the age of 28, making him the youn-gest member of the

At just 26 he had joined the whips office, ranking him with Lord Melchett — a Labour whip at the same age in 1974 — as the youngest government member since the war.

Apart from his spell in the whips office, Lord Goschen had also been spokes man on the environment. and in 1993 helped to steer the controversial rail privatisation legislation through the House of

Although he had no expe-

rience of shipping before est in transport extends to ownership of a private pi-lot's licence. A speed freak whose wife Sarah regularly rode on the pillion of his motor bike, he expressed regret at having to give up the machine for the chauffer-driven car that comes with the current job. The fourth Viscount Goschen comes from a family steeped in politics. His

peer suddenly in spotlight

whip in the Lords, his grandfather was an MP and his great-grandfather Chancellor Exchequer.

shipping industry say that

Lord Goschen . . . hereditary

Senior sources within the

he has worked hard and with great enthusiasm to get to grips with the subject matter. But they conceded that he was muchless experienced than Lord Caithness, who moved from transport to the Foreign Office and then back to transport again.

Over the last few days

Lord Goschen has bad to brave the winds of the West Wales coast and rebut growing criticism of the way the Government has

Until now, he was probably best remembered for Lords debate on the dangers of using mobile telephones while driving.

Refusing to outlaw the practice, he prompted sniggers with his comments that "there are many things that can be done in a car with one hand which do not come under the category of specific offences."

Pass Notes, G2 page 3

#### A GLORIOUS EPIC SAGA FROM ONE OF THE WORLD'S MASTER STORYTELLERS...

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News in brief

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#### Campaign to allay meningitis fears

A CAMPAIGN to allay fears about meningitis is to be launched in September, the Government's Chief Medical Officer Kenneth Calman said yesterday. The publicity drive will begin before the annual rise in cases in the months leading up to Christmas. It follows an increase in cases of meningococcal meningitis over the past four years — and a 36 per cent increase in the past

Dr Calman told MPs on the health select committee that meningitis and tuberculosis were "top of his list" of infectious diseases that concerned him most. He stressed that people needed to be informed about meningitis, otherwise GPs would be swamped with worried parents whose children simply had a small fever or a headache. There were 1,827 cases of meningococcal meningitis and septicaemia in 1995 — 483 cases more than in 1994 and the highest total for six years.

#### Fire cuts 'pose bomb risk'

CUTS in the fire service at a time when the IRA has renewed its bombing campaign in Britain will put lives at risk, a union leader warned yesterday, as it emerged that the London Fire Authority is likely to scale back its cost-saving programme today.

The authority's controlling Labour group is to propose cutting up to 350 jobs and 12 engines instead of the 650 jobs and 22 appliances first suggested. Four threatened stations will now be retained. Ken Cameron, general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, said that six of the 10 appliances first on the scane of the Canary Wharf bomb attack would still be earmarked to be scrapped. Cuts are being made because of the local authority scrapped. Cuts are being made because of the local authority grant settlement last November. Scotland, Tyne and Wear, Surrey and Essex face severe reductions. - Seamos Milne

#### Apology for 15-hour journey

EUROSTAR passengers are to be compensated after their journey from London to Paris took 15 hours — including three hours stuck in the Channel tunnel.

The train should have left Waterloo just before 1pm on Tuesday and was scheduled to arrive three hours later. But some passengers did not reach Paris until 4am yesterday. A Eurostar spokes-man said: "We sincerely regret the extreme delays that arose which were due to a variety of factors, including the bad

#### Branson puts balloon on hold

RICHARD Branson yesterday postponed his bid to fly round the world by balloon. The Virgin tycoon said he was "desperately disappointed" but would return to his southern Moroccan launch site in October for another attempt on the last great unclaimed

Mr Branson has been ready to take off from Marrakesh since mid-January, but the flight has been prevented by ground winds and the heaviest rain in Morocco since 1917.

#### Bid to declare father dead

NIGEL GRIFFITHS, the Labour MP for Edinburgh South, has launched a legal action to have his missing father formally declared dead. Lionel Griffiths, a 70-year-old retired teacher from Edinburgh, disappeared while hillwalking in Austria in 1994. Mr Griffiths has asked lawyers to bring an action in the Court of Session in Edinburgh. A legal notice appeared in The Scotsman newspaper yesterday.

#### Rowntree Foundation

A FRONT PAGE report in some editions of the Guardian yesterday, headed "Resignation calls grow", on opinion polls about the impact of the Scott Report, wrongly referred to "a separate ICM poll for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation".

That poll was not in fact commissioned by the foundation. whose charitable objectives do not include this type of activity. but by the wholly separate Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust.



Artist Damien Hirst, famed for his dead sheep sculpture, at the Hayward Gallery, London, where his first film will be shown in the Spellbound exhibition opening today. Hirst's 20-minute film tells the violent story of a man with three wives and an obsession with Airfix models. Its soundtrack includes Pulp and Alex James from Blurphotograph: DAVID SILLITOE

### **Euro-court ruling raises Tory storm**

to plea by killers of James Bulger

HE European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg provoked a storm yesterday when it ruled that the Home Secretary must lose the right to decide when prisoners convicted of murder under 18 are

Tory MPs renewed their attacks on the court, which caused outrage on the govern- lenge their detention before a a successful challenge by Rob- However, ministers convicted aged 16 of killing ment benches last year when judicial body, which will take ert Thompson and Jon Vena- recently signed up to the his younger brother, were

of three IRA terrorists on Gi-braltar breached their right

Secretary, said he was disap-pointed and would carefully consider the implications of the court's unanimous ruling. It leaves the Governmen no option but to change the law to give prisoners detained at her majesty's pleasure for murders committed while

set the "tariff" — the mini-mun sentence which must be served for retribution and de-Michael Howard, the Home

under 18 the right to chal-

terrence — in the case of juvenile murderers like the killers of toddler James Bulger. But it does away with his right to decide when a pris-

oner should be released, once the tariff has expired. The case was brought by Prem Singh and Abed Hussain, both in their 30s but still in prison for murders com-

mitted in their teens. Lawyers believe it points to

trial judge recommended eight and the Lord Chief Jus-tice. Lord Taylor, 10. The case states of the former Soviet Union to opt in.
Tory MP Sir Ivan Lawrence, chairman of the Comof Thompson and Venables is

Strasbourg.
The ruling, the latest in a series of defeats for the government in Strasbourg. prompted a call by the Tory leadership contender and former cabinet minister John Redwood for the Government to consider opting out of the Council of Europe, which en-

at an early stage in

forces the European Convention on Human Rights.

Lawyers say decision lends weight to plea by killers of James Bulger

the final decision out of the Home Secretary's hands.

The ruling will not affect the Home Secretary's right to plea by killers of James Bulger

the final decision out of the Home Secretary's hands.

The ruling will not affect the Home Secretary's right to plea by killers of James Bulger's killers. On Mr. Howard's right to fix a other five years on the basis of £13,000 respectively, but that Britain could not be seen to opt out while encouraging time spent in prison. The decision is the latest in

series of defeats for the UK in the Strasbourg court. where only Italy has a worse mons home affairs select comrecord than Britain for losing mittee, called for the European Convention on

cases.
John Wadham, director of the human rights group Lib-erty, welcomed the decision. "It will mean that politicians and short term political popu-larity will have no place in making the difficult decisions concerning balancing the lib-erty of the subject against the protection of the public."

### Young killers denied human rights, say reformers

Clare Dyer

HE system for dealing with children who commit murder in England and Wales conflicts with international human rights standards and must be group Justice says today.

over the issue at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, attacks the Home Secretary's role in deciding release dates as "con-

stitutionally improper."
The Justice working party The Justice working party

—which includes two leading

OA single offence of homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice in the UK seems out of children who commit homitice with most other cide are likely to be seriously changed, the law reform QCs, the eminent child psy-group Justice says today. Chiatrist Sir Michael Rutter, The report, which coincides and a former adviser to the

with the Government's defeat | Department of Health — calls | panel, which would monitor | pean country has indeterminate sentences for a system to bring Britain | progress annually | pr countries.
It argues that the current

system breaches principles of land and Wales and eight in fairness in human rights law. Scotland — needs to be raised and recommends: "The report says: "The pracmanslaughter for under 18s ☐ Trial in private by a judge

and two magistrates for those ☐ Abolition of the mandatory adults in both their mental sentence of detention at her capacities and their psychomajesty's pleasure, with dis- logical needs." cretion to impose the appro-

taken by an independent i nile homicide. No other Euro- i litical" manner.

to whether the age of criminal responsibility — 10 in Eng-

countries in terms of the limited extent to which it takes account of the known differences between children and

Britain has one of the lowpriate sentence, including indefinite custody

☐ Decisions on release to be maximum sentences for juve-

which are not judicially supervised, the element of British system declared a breach of human rights by

rated into UK law, so human rights cases could be brought

before UK judges in domestic

Singh, aged 15 when he was

convicted of murdering an el-derly widow who had be-

friended him, and Hussain,

the Strasbourg court. disturbed. It criticises the way Robert Thompson and Jon Venables, aged 10 when they killed the toddler James Bulger, were tried aged 11 in an adult crown court and had their minimum term in custothe "tariff" — fixed by

the Home Secretary. The fixing of their tariff was done in a "public and po-



James Bulger: His killers were tried in adult court

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### £20,000 prize for architecture

Macy Kennedy Heritage Correspondent

HE first annual cash prize for British architecture has been partner had felt disillusion launched in an attempt to ingood design.

named in honour of the late Sir James Stirling, will do for architecture what the Booker and Turner prizes have done for literature and fine art. The prize, open to any building in the UK completed since January 1993, will be best regional and national presented in November.

partner, Michael Wilford, said yesterday he hoped the prize would encourage young architects and persuade them to submit their work. His late crease the media profile of recognition in his own country, and was much more It is hoped the Stirling highly regarded in Germany Prize competition — £20,000 and the US. Sir James, one of the building of the year architects, was knighted shortly before his death in 1992. So far British architects have competed for glory and a brass plaque, in the annual Royal Institute of British Ar-chitects (Riba) awards for the

the Booker or the Turner prize hype is a public row between the judges, but the Riba has not yet clinched the deal with "a major arts world figure" to head the panel, which includes Owen Luder, its

Anyone may nominate a building for the prize, which is sponsored by the Sunday Times. National category awards are being established for the first time, for housing, conservation, commercial, health, education, sport and leisure, and civic and community building, and the build-ing of the year will generally

Stirling's architectural | The first essential for either | sider. The Riba regional awards, chosen by 14 regional judging panels, will continue

The organisers are keen to see smaller and more unusual buildings than the office and housing schemes which traditionally dominated awards. Buildings likely to be nominated for the first Stirling Prize include a headquarters for John Menzies in Edinburgh, by Bennetts Asso-ciates; a library for Jesus Col-lege, Cambridge, by Evans and Shaley; a nursery school in Kilburn by Alford, Hall, Monaghan, Morris, and a Cit-izens' Advice Bureau at come from this list, though | Chessington, Surrey, by Brathe judges may opt for an out | mante Architects.

### Smokers have 'odd brains'

Tim Radford Science Editor

IEW York scientists have discovered there is more to smoking tine. The brains of smokers oamine oxidase B.

Quite what this means isn't entirely clear. But Joanna Fowler, of Brookhaven National Laboratory in of smokers than in non-Upton, New York, and col-smokers. MAO B is in-smokers to Parkinson's disleagues at the state university of Stony Brook, report | dopamine, a neurotrans- | the performance-enhancing in the journal Nature today | mitter which plays a part in | properties of cigarette that the discovery may lead | movement and behaviour. | smoking."

she discovered her husband

had left the wedding reception

ried Brian Wilson last De-

cember at a register office.

Rodney Corner, North Buck-

an inquest heard yesterday. Catherine Johns, 38, marhelp in what they call a "massive, yet potentially preventable" public health problem. They studied scans of the

brains of living smokers, and matched the effect of the habit, and the life hisreally are different: they tory of the smoker. They ated we contain 40 per cent less of did the tests between 100 ness, an enigmatic enzyme called | minutes and 12 hours after the last cigarette. Overall, the pattern was clear. There was less of the enzyme MAO B in the brains in the brain may explain volved in the breakdown of ease, and may contribute to

Bride dead in car after wedding quarrel

ABRIDE was found dead in | inghamshire coroner at the | Tommy returned home and her fume-filled car after | Milton Keynes inquest, heard | the argument continued with

that her sons by her first mar-riage were at the reception

and that Mrs Wilson's anger

extended to son Tommy Sher-lock, a soldier, when he said

he would have to return to

barracks early the following morning. The newlyweds and

Milton Keynes inquest, heard | the argument continued with

be called.

limit in her body.

to new drugs which could | Dopamine is also involved in Parkinson's disease: there is more at stake in this kind of research than just stained fingers. George Koob, of the

Scripps research institute at la Jolla, points out in Nature that smoking is associ-ated with increased alertsustained performance during fa-tigue, and better intellec-tual responses. He writes: "Chronic MAO B inhibition

such ferocity the police had to

A post mortem revealed Mrs Wilson died of carbon

monoxide poisoning. She had

314 times the driving alcohol

French girl Duncan Campbell

murder of

**Driver denies** 

Crime Correspondent

ALORRY driver appeared in court yesterday charged with the murder of French student Celine Figard. He was remanded in custody

for seven days.
Stuart Morgan, 36, from
Parkstone, Poole, in Dorset, is pleading not guilty at Red-ditch, Worcestershire, to the murder of the accountancy student who disappeared on December 19 from a service station in Berkshire. Her naked body was found near a layby on December 29. She

had been strangled. Ms Figard had been on a holiday in Britain to visit a cousin in Hampshire. She was last seen getting into a white Mercedes lorry at the Chievely service station on

the M4. A major search was launched and members of her family came from France to appeal for information. The search ended with the discovery of her body near the vil-Ombersley, lage Worcestershire.

### No buses to ferry Serbs out of capital

Julian Borger in Vogosca

HE Serbs of Vogosca waited forlornly in yesterday's heavy snow for their final bus out of Sarajevo, but their leaders who had given the order to leave failed to provide the transport.

Tomorrow the northern Sarajevo suburb will become the first Serb area in the city to fall under full government control. Government police will move in under the supervision of UN police monitors. The blue-uniformed UN police stood on street corners yesterday handing out pam-phlets urging the Serbs to stay to help rebuild a multi-ethnic capital, but most Serbs

in Vogosca have chosen to be-lieve their own leaders who have called for a mass exodus. The well-off and the wellconnected were loading pos-sessions into private vehicles, but the rest of Vogosca's esti-mated 8,000 people have put their faith in the Serb politi-cal headquarters in Pale, which has promised to take them to Serb-controlled

Vogosca's acting mayor, Rajko Koprivica, was trying to get through to Pale to persuade his superiors to tone down the propaganda campaign, to calm his people's

"Most people here want to leave," Mr Koprivica said. "But we thought we had a lot

Yesterday he faced an angry crowd shouting abuse and demanding help to resettle. Their panic is fuelled by fears of reprisals.

Gojko Klickovic, the Bos-nian Serb organising the exodus from Sarajevo, gave the signal in a broadcast three days ago. "We must not allow territories which fall under Muslim-Croat control, be-

ment they would get under the regime of Alija Izetbegovic [the Bosnian president] and his mojahedin," he said. Mr Klickovic orchestrated the Serb exodus from the Croatian region of Krajina last August, with a similar use of

radio messages.
The Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, yesterday denied aggravating Serb fears in Sarajevo, but a spokesman for the UN International Ivanko, said that Pale had been trying to strong-arm Serb mayors who attempted to open talks with the Bosnian government and the in-ternational community.

"It is the Pale people who are pushing the local leaders to get their people out. The local leaders are being threat-ened. One had his house broken into," Mr Ivanko said. The moiahedin mentione

all left the country, as stipu-lated by the Dayton peace settlement, but the spectre of Islamic fighters had caught the imagination of the crowd sheltering in the entrance to Vogosca town hall.
"Who is going to keep us safe at night?" asked one old

woman. "Not them," she said, pointing at an Irish member of the unarmed UN police force. "What good can they be without guns?

Nato's implementation force, I-For, says it can provide only a general fram work of peace and stability. It refuses to take responsibility for the security of individual civilians, arguing it is a police role.

The UN task force says it is there only to monitor the local police, not to enforce human rights.

Those two positions leave a gap, and the frightened Serbs of Vogosca do not intend to wait around long enough to

#### Iranians out after Nato raid

Reuter in Tehran

HREE Iranians returned THREE Iranians returned to Tehran yesterday after being held by Nato forces who raided what they called a "terrorist training camp," in Bosnia, Iran's official news

Tehran's ambassador to Sa-

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back to Iran and said they were detained "in an insulting and inhumane manner tained eight Bosnian intelligence agents and three Iranians in the raid.

Iran had said the centre was a Bosnian police anti-terrorism training camp. Bosnia's Muslim-led government ralevo. Mohammad Ebrahim said it was an intelligence



Basque defiance . . . Jon Idigoras of the separatist party Herri Batasuna is arrested after the release of an electoral video

### Basque MP held over video

Adela Gooch in Madrid

LEADING figure in Alerri Batasuna, the political wing of the Basque separatist group ETA, was arrested yester-day over an electoral video that showed ETA activists hooded and armed in a

hooded and armed in a training session.
The arrest of Jon Idigoras, aged 60, an HB spokesman and MP, at his home in the Basque town of Amorebieta after he failed to appear at the High Court in Madrid on Monday, follows a surge in ETA violence ahead of the general election on March 3.

election on March 3.

About a million people led by the prime minister Felipe González and the op-position leader José Maria Aznar, marched through central Madrid on Monday night to protest at the point-blank shootings by ETA gunmen of a Basque politican and a former president of the constitutional

curse

grani

crush

court in the past fortnight.
Release of the electoral
video, which could establish a firm link between HB and the illegal ETA, has prompted a debate over whether the party might be outlawed. But the party no longer controls ETA, which is in the hands of young,

### Spanish Church denies leading flock to polls

Anti-abortion Catholic bishops are accused of electioneering for rivals to the ruling Socialists, writes **Adela Gooch** in Madrid

PANISH bishops have denied that they are using the pulpit to campaign for the conservative op-position Popular Party in the run-up to the general election on March 3. Their anti-abortion and anti-corruption sermons to Roman Catholic churchgoers have been seen the ruling Socialist Party. Monsignor Elias Yanes archbishop of Zaragoza, says:

"There is no party that de-fends our stand on abortion. Maybe some people in the Popular Party are closer to it, but no more than that." Those who hoped the PP, favourite to win the election, would tighten up the abortion

Catholic he has said legisla-tion will remain as it is, in seeping with his aim of attracting centrist voters.

Mgr Yanes is clear about the Church's role in a politi-

cal campaign.
"We draw attention to the especially among the young, corruption, terrorism and the family," he says. "We emphasise values such as the right to life, human rights and the right to receive education in moral issues. What we do not do is give any concrete indication of what party people should vote for." His subordinates are not always so careful. The bishop of

Jerez de la Frontera urged his flock not to vote for the Socialist MP Carmen Romero,

wife of the prime minister. Felipe González, because of her party's stand in favour of making abortion easily available in the first 12 weeks.

Mgr Rafael Bellido Caro
had been provoked by Ms
Romero's assertion that "the Church made a mistake over

Galileo and is making a similar error on abortion Their clash, however, belies generally harmonious rela-tions between Church and state after a period of estrangement. Mgr Yanes's hardline predecessor was barely on speaking terms

keeping with Spanish liberal tradition. Measures to introduce div-

orce, favour sexual freedom, promote the use of condoms and minimise the Church's role in education did nothing

cent of Spaniards attend Church regularly, about 90 per cent still declare them-selves Catholics, and until recently most were educated in religious institutions.

in religious institutions.

The Church enjoys a near monopoly in religious matters. Only in 1992 did Spain acknowledge that the expulsion of thriving Jewish and Arab communities, 500 years earlier, had deprived it of rich exhalarship and a tradition of scholarship and a tradition of

"We have more influence than the numbers suggest,"

turn to us at the important known for his liberal views.
times — birth, marriage; Some Spaniards fear that
death. And their scale of values - particularly when it comes to educating children stems from Catholicism." But the Church's decades

long alliance with General Franco's repressive fascist state alienated many Span-iards. It is a mistake though to associate the Church exclurively with the right. There has always been a radical left-wing clergy which sided with the poor, and many priests were heavily involved in the

nationalist cause, both in the Basque country and in Mgr Yanes, once described as the "red priest" because of his close association with Cardinal Enrique Tarancon, primate of Spain at the time of Franco's death, who placed the Church firmly behind the

opus Dei, the hardine reli-gious organisation which was particularly prominent dur-ing the Franco years, might reassert its influence if the PP is elected, pushing for a con-servative swing on moral issues. But Mr Amar is deter-mined to maintain a centrist If the Catholic Church and Socialist Party have fre-quently disagreed on the solutions to society's ills, they have one problem in common

- lack of appeal for the young.
"This is undoubtedly the greatest challenge facing all the Churches, says Mgr Yanes. "Young people do have spiritual concerns and we we to ask ourselves what it is that drives them not to ex-

press those through the estab-lished Church."



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### EU seven defuse extradition row

John Palmer in Brussels

EVEN European Union Scountries defused a cri-sis yesterday which had threatened their plans to abolish internal border controls. An emergency meeting of justice ministers from the seven Schengen countries -France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain — agreed to press the EU to improve cooperation among its member states on extradition. following a Belgian court's refusal last week to extradite two suspected Basque terror-

ists to Spain.
The court's decision to free. the two led to a diplomatic row between Brussels and Madrid and came within days of the assassination by the Basque terrorist organisation

ETA of a leading Spanish con-stitutional court judge. press conference: "We have agreed to intensify co-opera-

The Belgian court ruled that the Spanish authorities had not proved any direct connection between the two suspects and terrorism. Madrid responded by threatening to suspend all judicial co-operation with Belgium, although both countries are members of the Schengen agreement and there are about 80 other extradition cases under consideration.

After yesterday's meeting of the justice ministers in The Hague, the Spanish secretary for justice, Teresa Fernández, said Spain would not now block co-operation with Bel-gium on extradition. She also dismissed suggestions that Spain would quit the Schen-

agreed to intensify co-opera-tion between the seven Schen-gen partners ... on extradi-tion. We have also agreed to press the European Union as a whole to adopt a convention tightening

The row was the latest in a succession of problems frus-trating attempts to sweep away frontier controls among the Schengen countries.
France is refusing to lift some remaining border controls, because it is disatisfied with liberal Dutch regulations governing traffic in soft drugs. Last summer France delayed

the scrapping of land border controls after terrorist inci-dents attributed to Algerian Is-lamic fundamentalists. How-

Yeltsin plays

Borls Yeltsin made a public display of backing the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyr-

din, yesterday as the head of International Monetary Fund,

Michel Camdessus, arrived in

Moscow to finalise negotiations for a \$9 billion loan, writes David Hearst.

President Yeltsin denied reports of a rift with his prime minister, whom the IMF sees as the sole guaran-tor of tight monetary policy.

ball for loan

emmit" hetween five of the Schengen states was called off because of disagreements over whether further mea-sures were needed to stem though Italy, Greece and the Nordic countries plan to join the Schengen agreement. Britain and Ireland insist on retaining border controls.

The European Commission has warned that until the EU's internal borders are swept away, its citizens will not enjoy the full benefits of the single market. However, it will not be easy to harmonise rules governing extradi-tion in politically sensitive spain would quit the Schengen pact.

The Dutch justice secretary, Michiel Patijn, told a checks on internal flights cases, as a series of rows in the past 25 years between Britain and Ireland over cases involving alleged IRA members has shown.

#### World news in brief

#### Pavarotti admits passion not pasta enticed him to stray

(right) has at last admit-ted to a love affair with his young secretary, writes John Hooper in Rome. Today's edition of the weekly magazine, Chi, will carry photographs of the tenor locked in an embrace with Nicoletta Mantovani during a holiday on Barbados.

Approached by the maga zine, Mr Pavarotti, aged 60. said: "Nicoletta and I are very happy and it shows. To hide it and deny it would be

Rumours of the affair were repeatedly denied by the singer and his wife of 34 years, Adua. Last Septem-ber she said he "might



apartment occupied by a senior British official with the European Commission who is under suspicion of setting up a private consultancy company with a Russian busi EU funding, writes Stephen Bates in Brussels.



#### EU man's home searched

# an? Never." Ms Mantovani told Chi: "Before knowing

him, I was just a girl. Thanks to him, I have be-

BELGIAN police yesterday searched a Brussels The Commission's antifraud unit is continuing an investigation into Michael Emerson, who until last month was the EU's head of mission in Moscow. Mr Emerson, aged 55, has applied for early retirement from his new post as head of a Comnessman who has applied for mission think-tank and denies any wrong-doing.

The cabinet of India's prime minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, was under siege after a corruption scandal claimed four ministers in three days. The urban affairs and employment minister resigned yes-terday, joining others who had quit earlier. — Reuter.

#### Fight goes on. The Palestinian activist Lella

Cabinet crisis

Khaled, who won notoriety for several hijackings 25 years ago and is now return-ing to her native land, said violence was still an option in the battle for a Palestinian state, despite changes due to the peace process.—AP.

**Defence reforms** The French president, Jacques Chirac, will today and their lives. - Reuter,

nounce a radical shake-up of the armed forces and defence industries, including a plan to end compulsory military service that may be put to a ref-

#### **Dramatic rescue**

Indonesian troops swooped down in a helicopter on a rebel hideout yesterday, and rescued a Frenchman and an Indonesian kidnapped the previous night, an officer said. The kidnappers were identified as belonging to the same organisation as another band holding 12 hostages, including six Europeans. — AP.

#### Buried in snow

Rescuers were searching yes-terday for eight Ukrainian schoolchildren who had been buried in the snow by an avalanche in the Carpathian mountains, but hopes of saving them were dim. The teacher of the group of children aged 12 and 13 dug himself out and rescued two of the students. — AP.

#### **End to suffering**

The parliament of Australia's The parliament of Australia's Northern Territory has passed the world's first law giving terminally ill adults the right to end their lives. The law, which was passed on Tuesday, allows those of sound mind with only a year to live to set dortors to end to live to ask doctors to end

before

networks had just declared.

Rarely can a politician have

been so inflammatory in speech, yet so engaging in

"They threw everything they had at us, my friends.



Pat Buchanan 55,997 27% Bob Dole 53,623 26% Lamar Alexander 46,616 23%

Tally with 98% of votes counted. **The**Schedule

Feb 24: Delaware. Feb 27: North Dakota, South Dakota & Arizona Junior Tuesday Colorado, Connecticui Maryland, Minnesota

sland & Vermont Mar 12: Super Tuesday Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee &Texas War 19: Ohio, Illinois, Michigan

HE fire marshals. They told you I was an ex | merely trailer park America. closed the over- tramist. They bried to smear | There were teachers, preachus and to smear my friends. The establishment pumped crowded ballroom just after 7pm. nearly two hours Pat Buchanan millions into harrage after barrage of television ads squeezed through the cheer-ing mob to the podium to against me and got their media cronies to go after me,

claim the stunning primary victory which the television and you saw through them.
"You stood firm under fire You fought like veterans. You Bittersweet, an ageing rock band with grey ponytails and beer ballies, let loose a final guitar riff and rolled the drums as chants of "Go Pat." held that Merrimack river line from Nashua to Manchester to Concord, and you never gave an inch. You took their barrage, stopped their charge, and then we routed them at go" began to make the walls Don't wait for orders from headquarters. my friends.
Mount up and ride for the
sound of the guns," Mr Buchanan said with that sudden
guffaw that takes the edge off
so many of his statements.

bayonet point out of this great state of New Hampshire."

He went on: "You want to understand the spirit behind this campaign of ours, my friends, you can go to that other Concord, where Ameri-ca's first citizen militia held their line against King George and the greatest army of the day. We are their true heirs, my friends. We are the freedom fighters."
This audience was not

rs and young computer exec utives, teenage girls wearing crucifixes and anti-abortion badges, and local matrons. They were all going crazy for

"I have been for Pat since

arms," Leroy Crenshaw said.
A 49-year-old black gym instructor from Springfield, he
used to be a staunch Democrat. "I know he's no bigot.".

A young south Asian wear-ing Buchanan staff creden-tials turned out to be a British

citizen. Born in Goa. Paul De

Sa is doing post-doctoral

ard. He had planned to volinteer for Bill Clinton's campaign, but now agrees firmly with Mr Buchanan's defence

Beatles. Pat Buchanan is the Stones. He's the

of American jobs against the ravages of free trade and cor-

ing Pat now on Gatt and Nafta if he'd lived, God rest his

soul," Larry Overlan, a 46-year-old Irish-American from

Boston, said.
"There's another thing.

Martin Walker in Manchester sees the Republican electorate respond to far-right rhetoric and lashings of charm

Smiling Buchanan savours win

Pat Buchanan in full flow is a speaker so compelling that you almost miss the way the

bywords of the far right are dropped with eerie precision into every speech. There is always a reference

Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander, they're the

one that really frightens the powers that be' '92. because I agree with him reminds me of Bobby Kenne to the battle of Concord on the cultural war in this country and the right to bear arms," Leroy Crenshaw said. think Bobby would be back. Revolution, by defending the arsenal of the Massachusetts militia against confiscation by British Redcoats.

That appeals to the lobby, and to modern militia militants who know why Dole and Alexander, they're April 19 was also the date of the Beatles. Pat is the Stones. the Oklahoma City bombing He's the one that really fright- last year.

to "silent screams of the inno-cent unborn", for the radical anti-abortion groups, and to "corporate greed", to rally his growing bands of trade union There is always a reference to Michael New, the Ameri-can soldier who was court-

There is always a reference

martialled and dishonourably discharged for refusing to wear United Nations insignia to serve in the Balkans.

"The ones we should dis-honourably discharge are Bill and Hillary Clinton," Mr Bu-chanan says before promising that never again will American troops take part in a UN mission, or "American sover-eignty be surrendered to some New World Order". Outside the banqueting hall and ballroom, a convoy of cars assembled for the first

time.
Big black jeeps with flashing blue lights huddled protectively around an armoured

had arrived to protect the to a shaken Republican estab lishment yesterday, saying he could put together a coali-tion to beat President Clinton

in the November 5 elections.
"I would beg those fellows
in Washington: look it is clear Pat Buchanan represents working-class votes," he said on the NBC television Today programme from Columbia. South Carolins, where he had already begun campaigning for the state's March 2

"I can bring 'em all back If these fellows will samply open the door, we can put together a coalition that will beat Bull Clinton. But for heaven's sake, stop the panicky name-calling, behave like adults, come on out and let's debate ssues: are these trade treaties good for America."

God's own coalition, page 9,

#### **Curse of the** 'granite state' crushes Dole

**RUNNER-UP/The** party is all but over

Winning campaigns like to Tuesday night, and kept the scoreboard firmly on mute.

date's age) and the football-style, "D-O-L-E, D-O-L-E, D-O-L-E", repeated at rapid-fire speed. By the end of it all, Mr Zeliff looked positively flush

Mr Dole emerged on the platform, handshaking his way through the assorted congressmen, governors and former senators who had all endorsed him. Their presence was meant to show his strength. Instead it was un-welcome proof of the scale of his defeat: despite the support of the state's entire Republi-can establishment, the voters of New Hampshire had rejected Mr Dole — one of America's most experienced leaders — in favour of a tele-vision pundit who has never een elected to anything.

"Now I know why they call this the granite state," Mr Dole said. "Because it's so hard to crack." The crowd applauded that. They remembered Mr Dole's defeat to George Rush here in 1993 the

said at least twice, behind a clip on smile. He gave the thumbe up and told his sup-porters: "You're looking at or two behind Pat Buchanan, the nominee of the Republi-

and a Straight Shooter — all good qualities, but hardly a

### European papers worried by success of 'anti-free trader'

Paul Taylor in Paris

stitutions to Hitler.
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him a "pure, hardline na-tionalist" and noted in an editorial entitled "The dan-gers of American fundamentalism" that history showed success in New Hampshire was often a

> Pat Buchanan's grassroots fund-raising operation, Dial 1-800-Go-Pat-Go, is now raking in over \$100,000 a day. Martin Walker

Winning ways... The Republican presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan (top) laughs as he declares victory at his election night rally in Manchester during the New Hampshire primary, while Senator Bob Dole (below) consoles supporters after coming second

#### The Tennessee waltzer is determined to dance on

ALSO-RANS/Jonathan Freedland in Manchester looks at the tough task facing third-placed Lamar Alexander

primary appears to have knocked out one presidential contender and even though both claimed "tremendous"

victories. Malcolm "Steve" Forbes, the publishing tycoon, and Lamar Alexander, the former Tennessee governor, both staked a lot on New Hampshire, but neither en-

joyed dramatic success.
Mr Alexander said his strong third-place showing, just three points behind Bob Dole with 23 per cent, proved he had gone from "relative obscurity" to become a key contender. It was now time for Mr Dole was now time for Mr Dole to step aside, he said, so be and Pat Buchanan could fight "a battle for the soul of the party".

third place in last week's contest in lowa, Mr Alexander packed halls across New Hampshire. Many moderate Republicans were splitting moderate support and handing victory to Mr

Buchanan. "Bob's got no ideas, Pat's got the wrong ideas and I've got fresh ideas," Mr Al-I've got fresh ideas," Mr Al-contests, in Delaware, the is a black mark on i exander said yesterday. Dakotas and Arizona, he pristine reputation.

'HE New Hampshire | "It's between Pat and me." But privately Mr Alexander's aides admit it will be an enormous task to persuade the party to make him, rather than Mr Dole, the standard bearer for moderate conservatism. The reason is simple: Mr Alexander has not won anywhere.

His strategists said an upset second place in New Hampshire would have brought fresh momentum and cash. Two successive

The outlook is bleakest for Steve Forbes, once seen as front-runner

to be converted into a victory soon, they said. By his own estimate, Mr to \$3 million (£1.9 million) apparently persuaded by within two weeks, yet his ultra-simple slogan: "A-B-C. Alexander Beats Clinbave already contributed ton". He now boasts that all the \$1,000 legal maximum. that stands between him Yesterday he contacted 320 and the nomination is Bob benefactors in a telephone fundraising blitz. Mr Dole splitting moderate support and handing victory to Mr was now "broke".

Mr Alexander also lacks

has no base and has done little campaigning. Aides were last night considering

pulling out of Arizona. They hope to hold on until the South Carolina contest on March 2, when Mr Alexander's southern credentials could swing a victory. But party insiders have severe doubts. They fear that allegations relating to his financial dealings while governor of Tennessee could mushroom into a Whitewater-style scandal. Records show he once made \$600,000 from an investment of a single dollar. In another parallel to the Clintons, there are also questions about the financial past of Mr Alexander's wife Honey.

The outlook is bleakest for Steve Forbes, once seen as the front-runner in New Hampshire. He came fourth on Tuesday night with just 12 per cent. After burning bright with his call for a flat-rate income tax, the multi-millionaire now appears to have flamed out. He turned off countless vot ers with a negative TV advertising campaign and yesterday one top official in his campaign condemned

the strategy as "poor". Mr Forbes insists he will keep running all the way to the party convention in San Diego in August. But he speaks less now about winning the presidency and more about influencing the debate. He is said to be chastened by the fact that Mr Alexander and the next an immediate chance for a breakthrough. In the next money, all he has achieved is a black mark on his onceafter spending nearly

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for the senator. writes Jonathan Freedland IKE all political wakes, they billed it as a victory party. They waved their "Dole for President" signs, drank beer and filled the ballroom of the Holiday Inn in central Manchester with loud, techno music. Fittingly, Are You All Ready For This, was the track of choice. It was clear it was going to be a tough night from the moment they cut the sound from the outsized television sets dotted around the room. It rather not know."

polls

On row

المعقوم والتهاسين والم

Beat of the Sales

and spinners predict surges and triumphs for their candidate. But Bob Dole's supporters knew they would receive no such word from CNN on "We're on our way!" Mr Dole As the returns piled up, Mr Dole stayed a stubborn point

the television firebreather can Party right now."
who is making life in the Dole
He said he had rum into Mr who is making life in the Dole clan so doleful. For a moment they would be tied, a cheer would rise, and then a new lations. Then he laid into numbers. The computer would correct itself and the Dole-ites would go back to their beer. It was like watching the scoring at the Eurovision song contest; you knew it was pointless, but you watched anyway.

"We haven't had the absentee votes yet," said one opti-mist, but even he knew it was Dole for the third time in 16

Eventually, close to 10pm, the moment for concession came. Congressman Bill Zeliff, a Dole stalwart, had worked himself into a red-that he was Solid, Seasoned, faced lather, whipping up the troops to give the candidate a big welcome. He had led the

party of fear or of hope, if we are the party that keeps people out or brings people in," he added in a clear reference to the exclusivist doctrines of his rightwing rival. a lost cause. The curse of New Hampshire had humbled Mr from his wife Elizabeth, at his

side, Mr Dole signalled that he would not go quietly.

big welcome. He had led the chants of "Dole 96!, Dole 96!" of Mr Buchanan. And Mr (which sounded alarmingly like a statement of the candi-

UROPE shuddered at the thought that the iso-lationist, protectionist Pat Buchanan might capture the US Republican presi-

would be defined as a 'national socialist'. In today's United States, he is seen as a marvel, as some thing radically new," it

France's Le Monde called

HOUSE INSURANCE

Page 9

dential nomination.

Italy's left-leaning La Repubblica compared the outspoken opponent of free trade and international in-

"In other times, in another country, Buchanan House. - Reuter.

#### *The*Guardian

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#### The tariff for murder

Sentencing is too vital to be left to politicians

served their "tariff" (the fixed term for retribution and deterrence), the final indeterminate period which depends on the risks posed by offenders can no longer be set by Home Secretaries.

Predictably, Conservative politicians lined up behind the Home Secretary yesterday. Patrick Nicholls, vice chairman of the Conservative backbench legal committee described the judgment as "the last straw - it's yet another example of countries, many of which have had a deplorable record on human rights, presuming to lecture our Home Secretary." There was a similar echo from John Redwood, who talked about the need to reassert parliamentary democracy and, sic, British judicial independence. And even Sir Ivan Lawrence. chairman of the Commons Home Affairs Committee, defended the Home Secretary noting he was accountable to Parliament and reflected public opinion. Could this be the same Sir Ivan, whose committee only two months ago declared "responsibility for setting the tariff and for taking decisions on release should be removed from the

Home Secretary". Contrary to the mantras from the right, removing politicians from a sentencing role is not just an issue which foreign judges regard as crucial but most British policy-making bodies do too: two all party parliamentary committees have recommended it, the House of Lords unsuccessfully attached an amendment to this effect to the last criminal justice bill, and the British judiciary remains united on the reform. | tice makes democracy necessary."

WHO SHOULD set sentences for mur- | Michael Howard has done more than derers: judges or politicians? Slowly but | most to strengthen the reformers' inexorably, the Home Secretary's hands when he blatantly changed the power over the release of convicted old rules and declared that in reaching killers is being eroded. Yesterday the European Court of Human Rights cut them back further in a ruling which will apply to the two boys who killed James Bulger: once juveniles have their "twriff" (the fixed tarm for of the criminal justice system in lifting justice above a lynch law mentality and the thirst for revenge.

There is, of course, a proper role for politicians in sentencing and that is in establishing broad policy and a legal framework of tariffs for particular cases. But in a democracy, they should play no part in sentencing individuals. That is what tinpot dictators do, but mature democracies are supposed to have risen above such dangerous practices by separating the judicial from executive roles. Sentencing is a judicial process, not a political exercise. In the words of the last report from Sir Ivan Lawrence's committee: "while the Home Secretary might be in a position to respond to the public will, public opinion is not necessarily the surest guide in making such a decision."

It is only a matter of time before the Home Secretary loses all responsibility for individual sentences. Already the judges - both British as well as European - have removed his right to decide the tariff or the indeterminate period for discretionary lifers and now he has lost the power of release for mandatory life sentences. He still holds the power to set the tariff for juveniles and adults on mandatory life sentences. That, too, should be removed. Reinhold Niebuhr, author of the famous prayer on the importance of distinguishing between what can and cannot be changed, put it succinctly: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injus-



But don't write off Dole: time and money are on his side

Hampshire by using all the populist (which no one could swear to be wholly more than a trick. On this occasion the religious right was not an important factor: only one in 10 primary voters mentioned abortion as a significant issue — though he will woo a much larger constituency in the Southern states. In New Hampshire Mr Buchanan spoke principally to the confused middle ground of Republicanism, particularly among lower-income and less well-educated voters. His chauvinist, reactionary and bigoted message is profoundly disturbing. But the question remains why, in the country which claims to embody the world's most successful economic model, so many people should feel, so inarticulately, such discontent.

There are comforting reasons not to face up to this awkward enquiry. First is the simple mathematics. Mr Buchanan and Lamar Alexander need each other to stay in the race, stripping away support from both of Bob Dole's political wings. Yet logic suggests that, sooner or later, a three-cornered fight will become a two-way contest and that this will be greatly to Mr Dole's advantage - if he can hold his nerve till then. There is the further calculation that even if Mr Buchanan breaks through, the Republican convention may bolt away from him or - if the party establishment grits its teeth - his candidature will have no chance against a resurgent Bill Clinton. Unless, that is, | his chance - and America's problem.

PAT BUCHANAN has won in New Mr Clinton contrives to throw it away hard facts of cash. Mr Dole has been better at raising funds than votes: his resources are six times those of Mr Alexander and many times more than those of Mr Buchanan.

Yet it is still a long haul ahead with 14 primaries and two caucuses by March 5 and another quick dozen to go. Mr Dole's campaign machine is better equipped to stand the pace but it is also now the one shortest on morale. And Mr. Buchanan's voice will still have to be accommodated at the party convention, shifting Mr Dole (or, in an outsidechance scenario, Mr Alexander) further to-the right.

There remains that nagging question: what are the illnesses in US society to which Mr Buchanan is able to offer his quack-doctor cures? One answer lies in the generalised sense of disquiet among over half of the population whose incomes have declined in real terms over the last two decades. Another - not unrelated - is the increasing remoteness of decision-making in a globalised economy. It may seem absurd that voters in the world's most powerful country should feel they are being marginalised "for the benefit of transna-tional corporations". But Mr Buchanan is not entirely joking when he says his critics cannot decide whether he is a socialist or on the right. People feel something is wrong somewhere: that is

#### When the Sky really is the limit

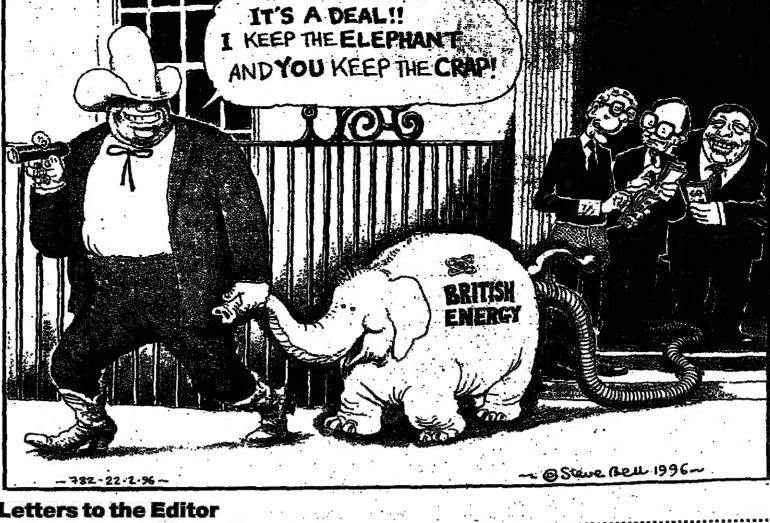
Stand by for what could be the longest running live soap ever

ment and temporary work contracts, it work plus a liberal share of the paternal is always rewarding to report success | genes that helped to build America. It stories among young people at work. passes belief that Mr Murdoch, a Step forward Elisabeth who at the age staunch republican who hates inherited of 27 is about to become general man-monarchial power, may be setting up ager, broadcasting, at BSkyB, the satel- his own media dynasty. Is the scourge lite television company. Step forward of the establishment, who passionately also Lachlan, recently appointed deputy | believes in getting there by what-youchief executive of News Corporation's know rather than who-you-know about Australian subsidiary at only 24 when to turn News International into Nepomost graduates are in their corporate | tism International? nappies. The smart money, however, is going on James, aged 23, who may go even higher up the corporate ladder. There is nothing to link these three people except that they all share the same surname - Murdoch, since you ask - and they have all been tipped to take over the helm at News Corporation should Rupert be suddenly whisked from Sky into the heavens.

It would be uncouth to suggest that

IN AN age dominated by unemploy- by anything other than ability, hard

Perish the thought. Too obvious. Mr Murdoch always thinks three moves ahead of the pack and there is always a business motive. Maybe he is teeing us up for the world's first Live Soap as two sons and a daughter slug out a racy succession battle on live TV (yes, BSkyB), cross-promoted by the Sun, analysed by the Times, distributed in the US by Fox, book by HarperCollins. Vertical integration incarnate. Jeffrey Elisabeth and Lachlan have got there | Archer, eat your heart out.



#### Jarvis, a true Brit

Awards (Singer hits back over Brit stage 'attack', February 21), and from what I could see his decision to walk on stage wasn't premeditated, de-spite what some papers have said. You could see him getting pissed off — we were all getting pissed off.

celebrate British music artis-tically and commercially. But the Brit organisers at Sony had obviously set their sights on making it Michael Jackson's comeback. Now, I'm signed to Sony, and it makes me pretty ashamed that they are using the Brits to promote en American artist's failed

one; it was so sick, especially when the children came out. So Jarvis just wandered up, and started dancing as if he was in the Common People video. The press said he made Valgns, but that was just his dance action. The man couldn't hurt a feather — Fye

Then some of those on stage with Jackson took off their cloaks, and you could see they were burly security guards. I didn't see anvone fail over and I was 20 feet away. By three-quarters of the way through the song, when Jack-son revealed himself as Jesus Christ, Jarvis was back in his seat. There was no "big scuf-fle". The only children crying were for poor old Michael Jackson and his bruised ego. I'm proud of what Jarvis did: and everyone around me was saying they wish they'd Bernard Butler.

c/o Rough Trade Management, 66 Golborne Road. London W10 5PS.

Found, at last

WAS at Jarvis Cocker's table at Monday's Brit Awards (Singer hits back ver Brit stage 'attack', Febru-Jackson's quasi-religious pretensions, and we feel that it is sinister that Jarvis was arrested and threatened with reset and investment with criminal charges for daring to take the piss. Those within the British music industry who have colluded in this heavy-banded; mob-like response to a prank should be ashamed of themselves. Ben Wait and Tracey Thorn. (Everything But The Girl.) London W6.

> HK Jacko vs Jarvis fracas is too pregnant with chean irony not to run and run. Reversing national roles enshrined since the War of Independence, we have the thrusting independent tweak-ing the tail of the overmighty cultural imperialist. But we also have folie de grandeur af-fronted by the Tall Poppy Syndrome, compounded by

syndrome, compounded by the very English disease of wanting it both ways. Jarvis tries to rationalise his-petly rudeness as both a harm-less prank and a salutary ges-ture: "My actions were a form of protest at the way Michael Jackson sees himself as some Christ-like figure with the power of healing. The music industry allows him to induice his fantasies ... " That the Jacko camp's response has been so sanctimonious only al-lows Jarvis to indulge all the more his fautasy as a Wildean

gadily and enemy of pomp. Both fantasies make money and there are no losers except perhaps, for our sense of pro portion. That Cocker has be eccused of molesting children in Jackson's care is an irony no self-evident to comme Mat Snow. 4 Winsley Street, London WIN 7AR.

MIND YOU, THERE'S COLD WEATHER,

THE media's rebabilitation of Michael Jackson has now proceeded so far that even the Guardian makes no mention of childrabuse in its report. Yet here's a very rich man who's settled with a fam-ily rather than fight childthen poses on stage as a figure of redemption, surrounded by adoring young children. I don't know which made me performance or seeing the rap-turous reception given to him

Perhaps the adult public has given Jackson the benefit of the doubt. The children on stage, however, were certainly not old enough to remember or judge recent events. Maybe, when she is older, the little girl whose foot Jarvis alleg-edly stapped on will realise what a sick charade she was part of, and be glad that some-one tried to expose it. David Belbin.

27 Devonshire Road, Nottingham NG5 2EW.

THANK heavens for Jarvis Cocker! Jackson's deification of himself was the most hmatic display of posturing vanity that the King of Pop has achieved so far. What connivance in his self-adulation by Saint Bob Geldof, who prepared us for Jackson's orgy of narcissism by introducing "God singing" and "God dancing". Jarvis makes me proud to

be British. Desmond Mason. Malvern, 49 Stanwell Road, Penarth CF64 2IR.

SURELY it is time for Mr Cocker to be knighted? Joe Billington. 36a Durley Road, London N16 5JS.

1000 6000 Ele

mind. In fact, February 1986 was recorded as the second coldest this century. And how the winter of 1962-63 failed to

ייט עטע.

#### Another attempt to solve the Ulster problem (to be continued)

DOES the situation in accept the right of the peoples to civil war, and can democracy as we practice it resolve which have nationalist majorracy se we practice it resolve civil war (Boind to end in tears, by Robert McCartney, February 20)? If the IRA is not supported by significant numbers of the Northern Ireland population, then it is a gang of fascist flugs whom we can hope to isolate and eliminate. If, however, its supporters

are sufficiently numerous, say, to elect at least one MP, then we are in a state of civil war, and our best hope is to allow outside powers to bring us together for a further ceasefire, negotiations and an eventual settlement.

As to the future, democracy as we know it depends on long-term power-sharing. The great majority of the population can live and work in the hope that, at the next elec tion, their preferred party will come to power. This is not and camot easily be the case where the political div-ide follows religious, racial, tribal, cultural or linguistic

. The challenge for Northern Ireland, for South Africa and other African nations (among many others) is to find a new kind of democracy in which the permanent majority operetes within a constitution which guarantees the minority's identity, rights, participation and access to the state's resources. Jim Hewitt. Monks Close.

POBERT McCartney emis to stick to democratic principles; would he therefore not

Oxford OX4

ities, to integrate with the Republic of Ireland? Would he Republic of freland: Would be also accept that, for any part of freland to remain part of the UK, it is also necessary for the people of England. Scotland and Wales to give their assent?

ney and his fellow compatriots in a small independent statelet in the north-east of Ireland about the size of Devon. He might not care for this outcome but it might well secure peace in these Angio-Celtic islands of ours. Paul Buttle.

WHO does Robert McCart-ney think he is kidding with his claim that Northern Ireland is a "civilised democ-racy" and the only problem is republican violence? He makes no mention of the unionist violence which goes right back to the origins of the Northern Ireland state. concerned, Northern Ireland mandered and undemocratic since its inception: the imposition of an artificial border to ensure one-party, uniquist rule there was compounded by internal gerrymandering and coercion. The current proposal for further elections only reinforces a harmful misconception of democracy.

John McMillan.

#### On Guppy and other ex-cons

robbery and subsequent 16year prison sentence hap-pened over a quarter of century ago), I have occasionally been approached by the press, television, radio and theatri-cal world to contribute towards various projects (Ex-tracts of truth, February 19). I've been paid in cash and in kind for my assistance: a couple of decent working lunches and dinners, travel expenses, a cheque for under £100 and a few others for con-

siderably less.
Upholders of the media's current policy on ethics will be pleased to know I remain skint and on the dole. Would I not be better employed and Canary Wharf, the public better served were London E14 5AP.

S A very ex-criminal | I to be, to paraphrase Duncan whose last armed bank | Campbell, "bashing a type-robbery and subsequent 16- | writer rather than a bank manager"? Robert Alles King. 9 St Michael's Terrace, London N22 4SJ.

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DARIUS Guppy's account-of his dealings with the Daily Mirror (Letters, Febru-ary 21) made amusing reading. His unfortunate inability to recall the truth about events he has been involved in was one of the many reasons we decided not to publish his story. Yours shriekingly. Piers Morgan. Editor, Daily Mirror.

1 Canada Square,

#### **A Country Diary**

BURGHEAD: The sea along tance out in the hope of see-the east coast had not calmed ing the first gamets some down since the recent storms and the white tops of the waves glistened like frost in the sunlight. One group of a dozen or so elder ducks, that included some juveniles. seemed to be enjoying themselves as they sat on the water and let the waves sweep them several feet high before they came down into the next they came down into the next trough. Were they simply playing? They made no attempt to feed and they could easily have joined the flock of over 40 sheltered a few hundred yards away in the harbour. Amongst the birds flying past were several redbreasted mergansers and it reminded me that some fishreminded me that some fisheries in Scotland are still seeking licences to shoot these birds along with goosanders. This is based on the supposition that they cause serious damage to young fish despite the fact that government research has not supported this. I decided to use the telescope to stare at one section of the sea some dis-

ing the first gannets going north. There were no gannets but I did see puffins, guillemots, fulmars, common scoters and long tailed ducks fly past but then I had to stop looking as I started to feel sea sick. The two great skuas that flew north seemed very purposeful so perhaps they were heading for the northern breeding colonies such as on Foula or could they be going even further north to the 2,000 pairs breeding on the great outwash plains of south-east Iceland where I used to study them. In contrast, the small numbers of rock doves feeding on the very low cliff all looked pure despite the fact that I now believe the only true rock doves are in the Outer Hebrides and even these may be doubtful because feral and racing pigeons may have started breeding with them. As I left, the group of elder were still riding the waves and not the slightest concerned at the spray engulfing them. RAY COLLIER

#### DAMNED COLD WEATHER AND STATISTICALLY UNRELIABLE COLD WEATHER

HAVE not replied to Mat-thew Norman's heavy-handed and childish vendetta against me in your Diary column in recent weeks. However, his latest repetitive clap-trap (Diary, February 16) attributes a quotation to me which is sheer invention. Miss Julia Hartley-Brewer of the London Evening Standard has confirmed that I was not in any way discourteous or abusive in my dealings with that paper's Diary column, and I shall therefore be obliged if you will set the re-cord straight. (Dr) Julian Lewis. Conservative Research Department.

CONTRARY to R A
Foulds's assertion (Letters. February 20), it is not
misleading to compare the
use of testosterone patches in hypogonadal men with the use of HRT in women. Postmenonausal women are, by definition, hypogonadal. The fact that this occurs naturally does not alter the logic of replacement therapy. Such logic applies at least as much to women as it does to men. (Dr) D Ross. Menopause Clinic.

32 Smith Square, London SW1P 3HH,

King's College Hospital, Denmark Hill,

N Scott-speak, is it not a fact that the oxymoron "falsely true" does not say in two words what the five volumes of his report has never failed not to do? Brigit Barlow. Elbrook House,

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a telephone number We may adit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

Ashwell, Baldock

Herts SG7 5NE.

## 110000011

A skirmish in the cold war

REFER to your report (An-other cold snap coming, February 17) that "weather forecasters" are saying that this winter may soon com-pare with the coldest of the century: 1946-47. This is quite.

Who are these experts? Are they real or are they figurents of journalistic imagination? There have been several winters colder than this one since 1947 which provided cond-

come into the reckoning is beyond comprehension.
This was calculated by some meteorologists to be marginally more severe than 1946-47 and significant enough to be the subject of an illustrated Guardian bookle which cost sixpence. itious for lengthy periods of John Steel.

skating, something this winter has certainly failed to achieve: 1979, 1981-82, 1986 | Newdigata, Surrey RH5 5AH.

#### Going spare in the community

ruary 21) does not amount to a government U-turn on com-great a focus will be placed on munity care, but goes some way towards owning up to the obvious fact that it has seriously under-funded community care for years.

A "spectrum of care" should never have amounted either to a hospital bed or a bed-and-breakfast place with a prescription. Mind has been criticising the Government for years for not providing a full range of support services, which should include some residential care for the small numbers of people needing it, as well as supported housing. | London E15 4BQ.

STEPHEN Dorrell's an-nouncement (Move to plug care gap for mentally ill, Feb-If there is any "danger" in If there is any "danger" in

> providing residential-based care for a few people, and that community-based services for the vast majority of people will continue to be over-stretched and inadequate. The £95 million of "new funding announced by Dor-rell will not significantly improve services. To provide crisis services alone, £300 million is needed. Judi Clements.

National Director, Mind The Mental Health Charity. 15-19 Broadway.

#### Diary

Matthew Norman

HE supernatural af-flicts the world of leftwing journals: two articles — one in Tribune, by Doug Anthoney, of envi-ronmental group Sera; the other in New Statesman by Labour's Chris Smith - are so similar, it's spooky. More than half the words in each are identical. "Few would dispute that protectwould dispute that protecting the environment is worthwhile," begins Doug's second paragraph—and so does Chris's. "Switching transport investment from road to rail...", says Doug in para three—and so does Chris. "Warnings that companies will move to panies will move to areas . . ." says Doug later on — and so, would you Adam and Eve it, does Chris. Only when the authors are asked about this miracle does their tele-pathic link vanish. Doug says he wrote the piece, and that Sera — eager to plug a conference — then per-suaded Chris "to put his

name to it". Chris insists he

wrote every word himself.

muttering something about "very similar briefs". Mm.

Perhaps there is such a thing as the Vulcan mind

N Tuesday, Michael Howard joined Princess Anne at Wands worth nick to launch a Victim Support scheme to put prisoners' artwork on Tshirts. Cleverly, the Home Office had announced the freezing of Victim Support's annual grant earlier that day, but Michael made a speech praising the char-ity anyway. Then, however, be rushed off without inspecting the exhibition as planned. But why? Did he feel one of those wretched colds of his coming on? Or was it the large caricature of Michael himself, wearing not only a sign saying "Rule 43" (the one famed for putting sex offenders and bent coppers in solitary, to pro-tect them from fellow in-

HE current bolder of the Diary title "Brit-ain's drollest public-relations practitioner" is seeking a "Media Relations Manager". Yorkshire Water's advert says that 'the successful candidate will acquire some of the . best media-relations exper ence in the UK". He or she will also "need to retain a sense of humour". We wish the winner the best of luck.

mates), but also a noose.

OW, as promised, to the first extract from the new Book of the by Edwina Currie. Fred Laidlaw (who bafflingly appears to be a Tory MP at the age of 23) is relaxing with Karen. "She took his hands calmly in her own and placed them on her breasts, then helped him massage them, palm to curve, round and round, rubbing the pert nipples with his thumbs. He gasped, then looked down at her in amazement. 'Oh Karen, you're so lovely . . . " Oh, Edwinz! Is it any wonder that, on a page before the novel begins, she quotes Flaubert as an influence?

Y friend Peter Bottomley, the well-meaning MP for Eltham, telephones. Dear Bumley is, as so often, in a bit of a state, and this time it's journalistic practice. (He's always had a thing about ethics, ever since meeting his wife in Colches ter, at the University of Ethics.) Bumley inquires as to whether any "independent sources" confirmed yesterday's item about Virginia wishing to present an award to David Bowie. Although he refused to discuss the question of inaccuracy, now suspect a mistake: it is not Lemmy from Motorhead on whom Virginia has a crush (or "pash", in her Angelia Brazilian argot), but the American rapper Snoop Doggy Dog. My apologies to the Heritage Secre-tary for any embarrassment

ALL STREET COLFERN

4.)

RADING Council's cemeteries manager has contacted local undertakers. "I write to advise you." says Bruce Thomas, "that we can no longer accept three hymns during a service." They just won't fit into "the allotted time", he says. Do not, though, think the council insensitive. "If a family insist on three hymns," it con-cludes, "they must book an additional half hour time at



### When consensus is a radical idea

#### Commentary

Hugo Young

HE first policy declara-tion specific to the 1997 election is nothing les than a conspiracy of stience. That is the deal Gil-lian Shephard and David Blunkett have agreed to put in place on the future of higher education. Coming out of an ether where relentless snarling is de rigueur, this is a strange counter-cultural

It also looks like mutual surrender by leading politicians to a force that haunts them: the shock of extreme unpopularity across the campuses of Britain if either party agrees, as both in the end surely will. to make going to university an experience which its beneficiaries must in some measure pay for. But I think there's more to be said for their con-duct than naked cowardice. Naturally, there's some of that. Punting the future of the universities into the long grass, where Sir Ron Dearing and a great-good committee will kick it around for 18

tation of an unpopular deci-sion. The Liberal Democrats. producing their own plan, scoffed at further procrastination There's a sense of Labour coming closer to its inheri-tance. Mr Rlunkett accepted Mrs Shephard's proposition knowing that Dearing was more likely to report to him than to her, and thus saw advantage in giving himself some say over the terms of reference and membership.

But by conspiring to remove from the election agenda some big questions — first, the size and purpose of university ex-pansion, and second, fees for students — the two politicians could be said to have found a funny way of enriching the national debate that undoubtedly needs to happen. The problem is, however

that under the rules of adver sary politics there has been no debate anyway. The silence goes back many years. Keith Joseph proposed tuition charges more than a decade ago, but was warned off by a combination of campus riots and Mrs Thatcher's terror of and Mrs i hatcher's lerror of middle-class revenge. In 1993, Jeff Rooker, then the Labour spokesman, wrote a paper canvassing the case for fees, and John Smith sacked him hours before the document was withdrawn from publica-

months, postpones the exploi- | litical performance in Britain. It was impossible to start a discussion before someone screamed "graduate tax" and called it to a half Just as it is called it to a hair just as it is impossible to discuss very many subjects other than in combat. The problem of British politics is no longer that politicians violently disagree but that they feel obliged to pretend to, and develop a vocabulary of bombast to prove it

There are minor disagree-ments between the Conserva-tive and Labour parties about higher education. A residue of ideology persuades some Tory backbenchers that there are too many students, who, it is true, get more public money than students anywhere else. The Labour Party takes a larger, more romantic view of education than the Tories, being more concerned with the 20-year future of the nation than the short-term de mands of the labour market Accordingly, Mr Blunkett, in the secret heart which Dearing excuses him from

opening up, is as yet less per-suaded about the need for tuition fees. Just wait until he has to meet a budget! Broadly, however, the leaders see eye to eye. Mr Blunkett is a moderniser and Mrs Shephard is a wet, who even thinks that student payments tion. The issue, in short, suf-fers from the syndrome that rarely sighted in modern Tory afflicts the greater part of po-discourse. The field they share Dearing Committee takes a

truth, which is that the Blunkett-Blair education policy is being drained of politicised fervour. Grammar schools are not the problem. A common vision unites people at the top of both parties around the understanding that education is more about improving stanthan changing

structures.
This is a huge cultural change. Mr Blair isn't wrong to note that, shorn of bombast 80 per cent of the House of Commons could agree with 90 per cent of the likely education policy a Labour govern-ment conducted.

In part, politics is about dis-agreement. There is a tremendously important argument to be had about Europe. There's probably going to be another

A common vision unites people at the top of both parties

big difference over the shrinking of the welfare state. Con-stitutional change sees the parties in primal disagree-ment. On the whole, though, the rituals of party difference contribute less and less to either good government or instructive politics.

They are, as all polls show, detested by the voters, few of whom experience a fraction of the party fervour that drives professional politicians to behave like hair-splitters to the nation, their promises as false as their real differences are

grows more consensual by the month. Hot though it was, the Harriet Harman affair distracts attention from the British education a better chance of lasting. But we per-haps have some way to go be-fore the radical potential of consensus politics is fully

> years since there's been a squeak of official opposition to any particle of government policy. Most recently, over-whelming support at Westminster attended the conces-sions and manoeuvres necessary to secure the peace process over the last 18 months. Yet ultimately the process failed and the major-

ity wish was denied.

It is at least arguable that one reason for this was the power held by a tiny minority of politicians to determine the Government's existence. With a majority of 40 instead of four, Mr Major might have felt strong enough to continue his ground-breaking momentum towards a settlement. It was the power of the Ulster Union-ists to defeat his other policies, and threaten his very existence, which contributed to frustrating the majority sup-port for his Irish policy, up to and including the discovery of some formula to cover the infamous illusion of IRA de-

After the breakdown, a Guardian reader proposed a simple idea: why hadn't Labour, as its contribution to the process, pledged not to defeat the Government on any confidence vote called after the Unionists had exercised their muscle? It would have of old norms. It might, without betrayal, have made a differ ence between peace and slaughter. But it was unthink-

very much larger share of their most dedicated

With the New Hampshire

win, Buchanan also scored an important victory in a

secret war going on behind the scenes in the Christian Coalition. The executive di-rector, Ralph Reed, has a

long-term goal of making the coalition as influential and

permanent an institution in the 21st century as the trade-

union confederation of the

was able to keep the coalition

machinery "neutral", which meant in effect pro-Dole. Yes-

terday, Reed's dam broke, as coalition leaders in Colorado

and Texas and Florida came out for Buchanan.

They did so because Bu-

chanan has brought a large new vote into his camp: the

disaffected blue-collar work-ers who fear for their jobs in

Bill Clinton's new world of

fierce competition and local

free trade. On the evidence of

the New Hampshire exit polls, they are flocking to Bu-

chanan in droves, just as they did to George Wallace in 1972 and to Reagan in 1984.

What was once a left-right vertical split in American politics is now becoming

something bizarrely differ-ent: a horizontal split be-

tween the elites and the edu-cated and those who believe

Reagan Democrats

are flocking to

Buchanan just as

Wallace in 1972

they did to George

agan Democrats. These are

The truth shall still set The subject on which it has most durably obtained is Northern Ireland. Here it is years since there's



George Monbiot

friary in Lago da Pedra in north-eastern Brazil, I was treated, at first, with suspicion. A few days earlier the local branch of the Ranchers' Union had announced that it would kill the bishop, a monk and a nun That morning the friary had received a phone call warning that the killing was about to begin. The man who eventu-ally let me in thought I was the

hired gunman. In the cloisters, 30 to 40 peas ants sat shelling peas and talking in whispers. Several had suppurating bruises on their heads and rope burns on their wrists and ankles. They had been dragged from their homes by military police, hired for the purpose by the state officials trying to seize their land.

This was in 1889. A few de-This was in 1989. A few de-cades earlier, a Catholic friary would have been among the last places the peasants would have fled to. For centuries, the incapable of distinguishing between evangelisation and enslavement. There were honourable exceptions — priests who spoke out against atrocities committed in the name of God — but their voices were seldom heard. Today, while many senior churchmen con-tinue to absolve repression,

bishops and priests through-out the continent have sided with the poor. Liberation theology was

practice long before it became a philosophy. Seeing that there was little virtue in trying to help the poor without confronting the exclusion and exploitation making them poor, the pastors began to use the Bible to show people why they were oppressed. Citing Luke 4:18, they helped to es-tablish some of the most robust labour, land and housing movements in the world. Millions, who would have lost their livelihoods, owe their survival to the new theology.

The movement, inevitably, has been attacked by govern-AFL-CIO has been for the has be Democrats. Against the fervent pull of his rank and file who wanted Buchanan. Reed even archbishops, have been traility on the part of the murdered by hired gunmen and police. Proponents have

> is Romans 13: 1,2 - "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth

> been silenced or excommuni-cated by the Pope. President

Reagan's administration

funded a Protestant evangeli-cal movement whose key text

to take an interest in Latin American liberation theology. During the highland clearances, as people were dragged conspired in their oppression — just as the Vatican has done in Latin America. The clear ances, pastors argued, were God's judgment on the people's wickedness.

Towards the end of the 19th century, however, when some of the remaining highlanders began to agitate for the return of their land, new interpreta-tions of the Gaelic Bible furnished them with arguments.

Today, a new theology is accompanying the revival of conflicts over land and resources. Last year, one of Scotland's most respected theologians, the Rev Prof Donaid MacLeod, called for high-landers to "reinstate our lost culture and bring back under our own stewardship and protection those straths [highland valleys] which violent hands

With the Quaker academic, Alastair McIntosh, and the Native American Jeader, Su-lian Stone Eagle Herney, he objected to the proposal to dig out a mountain in Harris for roadstone, arguing that the enormous quarry would de-spoil both the community and the Creation. The land, he contended, belonged "ethically and theologically before God

to the people". The gospel of liberation has also been spreading south of the border. On Tuesday, the London Churches Group, inspired by Brazilian priests, called for churches to move from sympathy to solidarity with the homeless, treating them less as objects of charity than as subjects of their own enfranchisement. The latest survey of the General Synod, which found members more concerned about the Third World, unemployment and the environment than adultery and homosexuality, sugg that the LCG's report will fall on fertile ground.

ONFRONTATION be tween the Church and earthly powers is scarcely a new idea — Jesus was crucified for subversion. But, in Britain, the need for defiance is more urgent than the bean for years. Tennesteen for years. it has been for years. Zero-hour contracts, the detention of immigrants, deaths in custody, the abuse of gypsies and travellers, the burgeoning Church and collaboration.

If liberation theology takes root in Britain, its advocates can expect trouble, and not just from such inflatable buffoons as the Venerable George Austin. But adversity is surely what Christianity is all about. Our text for today is I John 3: 18: "Let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in the ordinance of God."

It's not hard to see why some churchgoers in the Scottish Highlands are beginning for the Church to take sides. deed and in truth." God's kingdom will not be built on tea and sympathy. It is time

# Pat Buchanan's audacious victory in New Hampshire brought together an alliance of disenchanted voters that could, ironically, save Bill Clinton. **Martin Walker** reports

## God's own coalition

AT BUCHANAÑ calls it "that mo-ment when I lift my hand from that Bible on which I wear my oath of office". It is be moment next January when US troops in Bosnia board their planes to leave, all foreign aid stops, and army engineers begin build-ing the 2,000-mile wall along the Mexican border.

There will be utter chaos in the financial markets, as the the North American Free Trade treaty and from the World Trade Organisation of the Gatt, and "reviews" membership of the World Bank and IMF. Currency traders will scramble to com-prehend the scale of the colapse in world trade that will follow Buchanan's new tariffs of 10 per cent against Japanese and 50 per cent against Chinese goods.

It will also be the moment

when the US Seventh Fleet takes up its new station off the coast of the protectorate of Taiwan, and Russia watches all the strategicarms treaties torn up as Bu-chanan starts to deploy Ron-aid Reagan's old dream of Star Wars. The UN bureaucracy can start to ship their belongings out of New York, and Panama can forget that treaty about the canal becoming theirs in the year 1999. Back in the US, to the cheers of David Duke and the Ku Klux Klan, all federal pro-

'You don't need the money and the fat-cat politial consultants and the TV ads'

grammes that benefit blacks or other minorities will stop, along with any use of federal funds that can in any sense be said to support abortion.
As armed bands of the militis movement fire off their black-powder salutes to the nationalist populist in the White House, all restrictions on gun ownership would be scrapped. After his stunning victory in the New Hampshire primary election, in the teeth of all the money and organisation and party ma-chinery available to Senator Bob Dole, a Buchanan presidency is suddenly something more than a faint, theoretical

His grassroots fund-raising operation, Dial 1-800-Go-Pat-Go, a phone number repeated on every TV and radio ap-pearance, is now raking in over \$100,000 a day. The secret service joined his cam-paign to provide protection as soon as Dole conceded defeat. Buchanan flew into New Hampshire coach class on a commercial flight, and flew out on a chartered jet.

out on a chartered jet.

America's equivalent of Stripes on the liberated city Jean-Marie Le Pen and Vladiof Washington, DC." mir Zhirinovsky now believes he can use the momen-tum and credibility of New Hampshire to blitz his way through the next 35 days, in 2,000 miles to North and were open, and which 29 states will vote and South Dakota, and on to Colo-



can delegates will be elected 'In the first week of March, we get to the South, and I am home, in South Carolina and Georgia and then Super Tuesday with Florida and Texas," Buchanan grinned on Tuesday night, as the exit polls came in.

"I carry the South and I win the nomination. I then bring home the Ross Perot voters and the Reagan Demo-crats, and all that Democratic base who know that Bill Clinton sold them and their jobs down the river to Mexico -and the Buchanan brigades will finally storm the last defences of the establishment

Buchanan hit four of the states yesterday, flying straight from New Hampshire to South Carolina, then 17 of them while the polls three-quarters of the Republi- rado. As he left his victory The further you get into the Republican vote, but a Bill Clinton.

party on Tuesday night, he this process, the less you was already on the phone to need the money and the fat-conservative talk shows in cat political consultants and Arizona. This has been his secret weapon. Gregg Mueller, his top press aide, has a briefing book on every radio talk show in the US, 740

His fund-raising operation, Dial 1-800-Go-Pat-Go, is now raking in over \$100,000 a day

separate stations. On the day of the Iowa vote, Buchanan spoke on 27 of them from his hotel room. On the day of the New Hampshire vote, he hit were open, and another 13

strategists and the TV ads," Buchanan told the Guardian. There is so much free media out there, on radio and cable and TV, that I can run a winning campaign with onetenth of the budget that some Washington consultant says you need. But to get that free media, you have to have credibility. You have to be the story that has the media coming to you, rather than you pleading for airtime."

Buchanan became the

story because of his rock-solid base in the antiabortion movement, spear-headed by the militants of Operation Rescue, who try physically to close abortion clinics with their civil-disobedience campaigns. Along

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in the new global economy— and those below who fear it. President Clinton, Wall Street and the corporate es-tablishment, and all the other Republican leaders, are above that line. Pat Buchanan and the Democratic lead-ership in Congress and the trade unions and rump leftists like Ralph Nader are be low it, united in their demand for protection against the global economy. Republican Party leaders, and their financial backers,

are trying desperately to per-suade Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander to close ranks, possibly with the deal of a vice-presidential slot to Alexander, in exchange for a Dole pledge to step down after one term. Buchanan's success in the remaining primaries depends on his continuing to split the anti-Buchanan vote. It could backfire. That kind of fix between Washington insiders is precisely what fuels the outrage and resentments behind the Buchanan

insurgency.
As the Republicans tear
themselves apart in the coming weeks of class and religious wars, it leaves as the real winner of the New Hampshire primary the Demwith the gun-owners and the corat who broke Reagan's far-right conservatives, this 1984 record to win 90 per cent gave him a solid fraction of of his party's vote this week:

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11.8% APR is available on loans from £5,000 to £10,000. Thomas for business or re purposes are excluded. Roses are correct as at 10/01/%. A written four credit terms in available on sequent. All basis are subject to sexua You must be aged 21 years or over and in receipt of a regular income.

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Clair Patterson

versial post-war geo-chemists Dr Clair C "Pat"

Patterson, who has died aged

73 at his home in California.

developed elegant techniques to determine the age of the

additives in petrol.

from a report he produced in response to the US Surgeon

urhan lead levels in America

troversial yet soon accepted. Among his first discoveries

ments were being swampe

long investigation which soon

revealed that from cities to

living things were being sub-

Patterson spoke of "mega exposures" and, using typi-cally meticulous techniques,

oceans and polar snows,

sected to toxic lead insuit

was that his lead me

exercises

Ishotgun

# Sounds and silences

characteristic voice or musical Toru Takemitsu, who has died bussy, Scriabin, Ravel, Berg and Messiaen, for example, in his music but his compositions have a recognisable unifying sound, a unique aura.

Even the very early Requiem For Strings (1957) shares a strong family resemblance with works written 30 years later, such as Nos-talghia, a concerto for violin taignia, a concerto for valuta and string orchestra dedi-cated to the memory of the film director Tarkovsky and first performed at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1987 by Sir Yehudi Menuhin, for whom it was written. Take-mitsu very early established a special place, a place we share as he explores its riches with each new work. Born in Tokyo and largely

self-taught, he came to promi-nence in his home country in serial technique is used: the early 1950s working with the Experimental Workshop, a group of artists looking at modes of expression and endeavouring to separate be found all around the world and Takemitsu absorbed the major technical streams of contemporary musical thought. Soon he was winning awards in competitions, including the Italia Prize in 1958. His success in the early 1960s, at the important Inter national Rostrum of Composers organised by Unesco, culminated in the Rostrum's

Prize for Excellence in 1965. opment was unorthodox. Early artistic influences included other art forms as well as a diverse range of musical influences - from post-war European avant garde, through New York experimentation with his friend John Cage, to the world of low crescendos of woodwind jazz and popular music. All of and low strings, sometimes this was filtered through a deep knowledge of and commitment to Japanese music. Indeed, though he worked in an essentially Western contemporary music language, the sensibility, philosophy and language of his own culture was never far away. His music is rooted in the sounds of Japan — not just the traditional music of Japan but in unique to that land: of ancient He saw as important and useful to his music things from It is through this surprising | the first score of Toru's that I | appeared like mushrooms in | Barry Conyngham

**Harry Urwin** 

Ifs and buts

ARRY URWIN, who and Jack Jones — and has has died aged 80, was now been closed down.

The companion of the c

of a No 2

Jones at the height of

the power of the Transport

and General Workers' Union and one of the few remaining

figures from that truly archetypal generation of trade union leaders who rose from

an elementary school edu-cation via the relentless

toughness of pre-war shop-floor life.

There were no frills, or O-levels or A-levels — hope was the fuel which overcame

despuir: the socialist message

tionally hard school produced

outstanding TGWU leaders — Ernest Bevin, Frank Cousins

COMPOSER who synthesis of East and West, obtained I suspect it was my can establish a new and old clear and obscure, complex and simple local and global, that Take-mitsu developed his palette. ways a typical mid-20th cen-

tury international artist, free to react to, think about, abthing. His world include Australian aboriginal myth. images from Soviet cinema, the personality of the Spanish painter Miro, the masic of Joyce's Finnegan's Wake, the strange recollection of a champ — as well as his pas-sion for numbers, dreams and water. From the 1960s, he was both a globe-trotting awardvery individual artist.

My involvement with his music began with the 1965

prize-winning Textures, which is part of a larger work Arc, and a fine example of the complete. Takemitsu multi-layered orchestration, complex pitch structures, libmusic (where the alignment of the layers is liberated into swirling, cascading or frag-menting textures). But I susthe most arresting aspect of this music is the wonderfully original mixture of timbres and harmonic textures that intrigue and beguile, and the

E REVEALED to me later that what we hear is the result of his concept of orchestral space, the careful positioning of each component in the pitch spectrum. High me-lodic arches reaching up within their own pitch "space"; mid-range blurrings with muted strings or brass growling, sometimes sneak-ing in — suddenly there! And all this miraculously suspended in a continuum of time with pulse and rhythm

After Textures, Takemit-su's art was in full flower. Major commissions challenged him to discover more of his inner musical land-Dorian Horizon for orchestra, commis-by the Koussevitzky Critics Prize of 1967. This was

ham miners' family - a com-

munity renowned for produc

ing Labour and trade union leaders as well as outstanding

footballers. He "escaped" his phrase to me many years later — from the pits after a brief taste of coal dust to the

Coventry of the early thirties and daylight jobs in the ma-chine tool trade, serving the still infant car industry.

Gradually he moved up the trade union ladder to become a wartime chief shop steward

and convenor. It was then

that he met Jack Jones, a

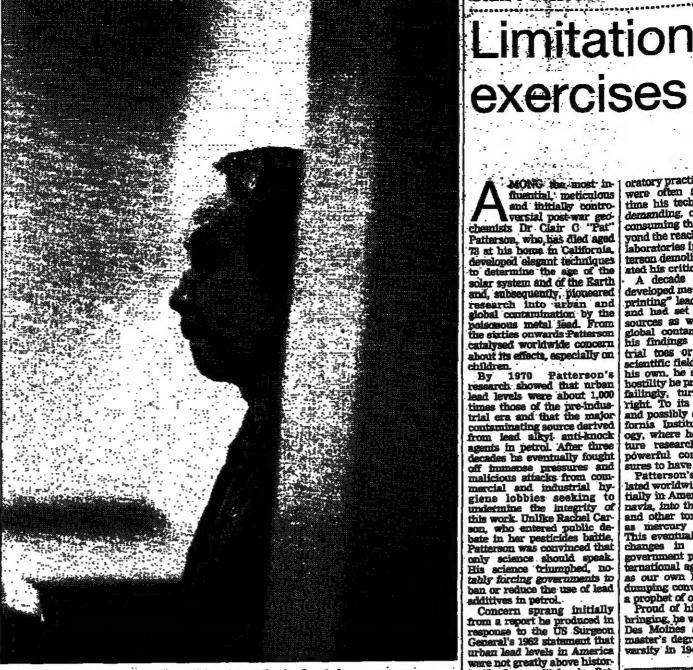
young Liverpudlian not long back from the Spanish Civil

first composition lesson and I still return to it for guidance The same year produced what many see as one of the masterworks of the 20th century, November Steps, com-missioned by the New York Philharmonic for its 125th year and conducted in November 1967 by Seiji Ozawa Toru's friend and champion ful encounter between the full symphony orchestra and two instruments of Japan, the biwa and the shakuhachi. The equally formal and ritualised Western symphony orchestra even cross-musical encounter one with a feeling of having

experience.
The piece reveals a possible source of Takemitsu's magical orchestrations. Are the brutal plucked and scraped the undercurrent of aggres-sion and angularity in his double reed, brass and percussion textures? Does the elusive sentimental yearning of his string and flute lines whose idealised origins lie in the sound of the wind through The music has an almost

overpowering focus, as if in trying to make the two musics one, in striving to ac himself and us into a strange new state. For me that is a glimpse of the cauldron of magical accommodation, the world Takemitsu inhabits, the place he revealed to us with his rich and musical life. It is this accommodation of apparently incompatible ele-ments in one sensibility that enabled him to take any image, any interest, and spark a new response, take us to a new part of his world. mitsu became an ambassador for new music. He was invited to, organised and created

major festivals all over the world. His contribution to Expo '70 in Osaka was Space Theatre, a venue that brought together 1,000-year-old Japa-nese music and state-of-the-art laser-based images and multidimensional sound technologies by composers such as Iannis Xenakis and John Cage. He began the Seibu Music Today series in 1973, ducted by Aaron Copland in 1990s involving a veritable San Francisco, won the Music Who's Who of international music. Takemitsu festivals



Ancient and modern . . . Takemitsu achieved a synthesis of varied sources

where. In 1978 he became an val d'Antomne in Paris.

He wrote music for more than 90 movies, collaborating with several great Japanese directors, including Kurosawa on Ran (the Japanese King Lear) and Dodes ka-den He was working on the latter during my studies with him in 1970. The score successfully integrates strange per-cussion effects, orchestral sounds and a much more me odic side of Takemitsu's musical character.

Toru, who is survived by his wife Asaka and daughter Maki, was fond of telling a story about his great friend, ton Feldman, always ending up with a sad smile. When Feldman was dying, he telephoned Takemitsu and with characteristic simplicity whispered a short message: "I love you, Toru." And then hung up. Many of us who knew Toru will be saying those same words this week.

Roger Woodward, the planist to whom Takemitsu dedicated two works, writes: Performing Takemitsu's music from right?" Toru taught me the infinite the 1960s on, I have noticed

settle listeners more than the composed music as concert hall listeners expect — the Stravinsky once called it. Takemitsu's passionate or tender outbursts, marked pisnissimo but requiring a sudden frenzy of activity, almost suggest that the performer has suffered a mild

Toru could be withdrawn and pensive but those Japa-ness manners camoullaged a wicked sense of humour. For instance, he had an encyclo paedic knowledge of the tunes in Western pop music. I once heard the broad-

caster John Amis interview what is the meaning behind the use of silence in your music?" After an infinite pause, a faint voice, like a February 20, 1996

any government to reckon with. Jones was a tough, inci-

sive decision-maker, politi-cally loquacious, a sharp de-

bater, Urwin, arguably ever

tougher, was less argumenta-tive but unbending in his be-liefs and attitudes about what

was right and wrong. If Jones made the tough decisions, it

them out.

was his deputy who carried

Urwin remained as number

two until his 1980 retirement

after Moss Evans succeeds

Jones to the ganeral-scre-tary's chair. The great mys-tery is why Jones discour-aged Urwin from letting his name go forward for the suc-cession. The accepted wisdom

was only two years away from retirement age and

Jones felt that this would not have benefited the union.

Harry Urwin believed other-wise — and it remained a sad

other factor was that Urwin

had always refused to sacri-fice his settled domestic scene

in Walsall for London. The speculation that can

break in their friendship.

music ... (long pause) No ... maybe glandmudder ... all

different kinds of fermats, the those little and longer pauses which bring such effortless poetry to his musical lines. He taught me to combine (In Corona and Crossing, simil-taneously. His dozen piano

dusk when suddenly thou-sunds of moths decided they wanted to greet Toru. I remember most of the party were desperate to shake off the filthy moths from their good clothes, But Toru was only interested in their movement and the patterns they

Toru Takemitsu, composer, born October 8, 1930; died

Labour Party in opposition to this day. Harry Urwin served on the

TUC general council from 1969 to 1980 and chaired sev-

eral of its top committees. He was a member of the Man-power Services Commission, the National Enterprise Board, the Acas Council, the

Energy Commission and the Standing Committee on Pay Comparability. But perhaps that wistful smile which

played across his face in the later years, after retirement, was a reflection of his inner-

most thoughts as to what might have happened, if ...

Charles Henry "Harry" Urwin:

born February 24, 1915; died February 9, 1996

**Geoffrey Goodman** 

tions in humans had risen to between 500 and 1,000 times those of the pre-industrial era. Since lead is a central nervous system poison the implications, in terms of dam-"Jack and Harry duo" was a pever be resolved is what formidable combination for might have happened if Ur-

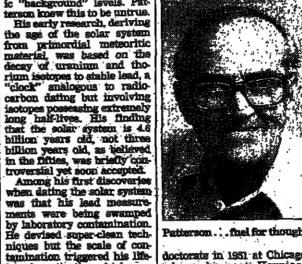
age to brain development and function, were obvious and profound. might have happened if Ur-win, rather than Evans, had When, in 1988, these findtaken over from Jones. There ings were challenged at a Lon-don meeting by establishment are those, including former Chancellor Denis Healey, who believe it might well have prevented the Winter of Distoxicologists whose data were by then in tatters, Patterson's reply was salutary. His de-scription of the enormous care that had to be taken to content which eventually brought down the Callaghan government and has left the

MONG the most in-fluential meticulous were often sloppy. At this and initially contro-time his techniques were so consuming that they were beyond the reach of all but three laboratories in the world. Patterson demolished and infuri-A decade earlier he had developed methods of "finger-

solar system and of the Earth and, subsequently, pioneered research into arban and global contamination by the poisonous metal lead. From the sixties onwards Patterson printing" lead contamination and had set about mapping sources as well as levels of global contamination. When his findings trod on induscatalysed worldwide concern trial toes or trespassed on scientific fields that were not about its effects, especially on his own, he stood above the hostility be provoked and, unresearch showed that urban lead levels were about 1,000 failingly, turned out to be right. To its great credit— and possibly cost—the Calitimes those of the pre-industrial era and that the major contaminating source derived from lead alkyl anti-knock agents in petrol. After three ogy, where he spent his ma-ture research life, resisted decades he eventually fought

off immense pressures and malicious attacks from com-mercial and industrial hygiens lobbies seeking to undermine the integrity of this work Unlike Rachel Carand other toxic metals son, who entered public de-bate in her pesticides battle, Patterson was convinced that government policy and to international agreements, such as our own North Sea anticience triumphed, notably forcing governments to dumping convention. He was a prophet of our time.
Proud of his Mid-West up-Concern sprang initially

bringing he went to school in Des Moines and gained his master's degree at Iowa Uni-



where he met Harrison Libby was developing radio-carbon dating. His first fulltime research technician was

Clair Patterson's retirement in 1992 was marked by a Caltech symposium in his honour. When he died he was working on a book on brain physiology and function which his family (there are four children) hopes to pub-lish. We should all honour his legacies; his concern for our well-being; his powerful and immaculate science and. above all, his integrity.

Clair Patterson, scientist, born control the effects of contami-nation showed that the lab-

Birthdays Judy Cornwell, actress, 54; Joseph Ettsdgni, fashion de-signer, 60; Bruce Forsyth, emertainer, 68; Jocelyn Her-bert, thesire designer, 79; Senator Edward Kennedy, Ct. Drobers of West 52; Sie 64; Duchess of Kent, 63; Sir John Kerr, ambassador to Washington, 54; Niki Lauda, former motor racing cham-pion, 47; Frances Line, con-troller, Radio 2, 58; Sir John Mills, actor, 88; Miou-Mion (Sylvette Hery), actress, 47 Buddy Tate, saxophonist, 83; Julie Walters, actress, 46; Robert Young, actor, 89.

**Death Notices** 

VINER Sendy. 22.2.94 still greatly mi

In Memoriam

Mons say br leak Halifax

#### Jackdaw



#### Ali gone

ONE MORNING at eight o'clock, my phone rang. It was a former student of mine who is now a research endocrinologist at a major teaching hospital in Houston. She had an odd question: at what point in animal evolution was the porphyrin molecule (such as hemoglobin) first adopted for use specifically as an oxygen carrier? It was an essential piece of information for medical research that she was planning. If I didn't know the answer (and I didn't), who did? I racked my brains to think of a contemporary biochemist or universi-

I could come up with was a book — I thought by some-body named Baldwin — that I had read when I was a student. She thanked me politely and said goodbye. Later I went down to the basement and found the book in a box. It was An Introduction To Comparative Biochemistry, by Ernest Baldwin, Cam-bridge University Press, 1964, fourth edition. Much of the information my former student had wanted was in there brilliantly written. I called the publisher and was told that the book had gone out of

print in 1980. By coincidence, I was scheduled to lecture that afternoon to a group of biochemistry professors and graduate students. So I asked them the question I had been asked earlier. "I'm not a biochemist," I said, after relating the phone call. "Tell me who is working on this sort of thing these days." The bio-chemistry professors looked at one another and laughed brains to think of a contempo-rary biochemist or universi-ty department that could pro-

know of anybody. There had probably been nothing pub-lished on the subject since Baldwin. As for the graduate students, they had never even heard of comparative

Urwin : . . tough and unbending

last for more than 50 years— although following Jones's retirement as TGWU general-secretary there was, for a time, a break within it.

Their careers ran in paral-

War. The friendship was to retaryship to the Midlands last for more than 50 years — region head office, Urwin although following Jones's stepped into Jones's Coventry retirement as TGWU general- job. When Jones moved to

lel, sharing work experiences, socialist politics and trade unionism. When Jones, two years older, moved on from Coventry district TGWU sec-

biochemistry.
Gone! Not outdated. Not superseded. Not scientifically or politically controversial. whole continent of important human knowledge simply gone, like Atlantis beneath the waves.

David Ehrenfeld, a biology professor at Rutgers University, reflects on disappearing knowledge in Forgetting, origi-nally published in the North Carolina magazine The Sun, and reprinted in Harper's.

#### Snow talk

Tiapa - powder snow. Tlapat — still snow. Klin - remembered snow. Naklin - forgotten snow. Tlamo - snow that falls in large wet flakes. Blotla — blowing snow. Pactla — snow that has been packed down-Hiryla — snow in beards.

Tlaying — snow mixed with mud. Allatia — baked snow. Fritla —fried snow. Gristla -- deep fried snow. MacTla — snow burgers. Diplittle — little balls of snow

London, Urwin replaced him. And when, in 1969, Jones took

that cling to Husky fur. Ertla — snow used by Eskimo teenagers for exquisite erotic rituals Warintla - snow used to make Eskimo Daiquiris. Mertia — snow used to make Eskimo Margaritas.

Penstla — the idea of snow.

Ylaipi — tomorrow's snow. Pritla — our children's snow. Tlalman — snow sold to German tourists. fiuantia — special snow rolled into "mow reefers" and smoked by wild Eskimo youth. Tla-na-na — snow mixed with

the sound of old rock and roll from a portable radio. Depptia - a small snowball, preserved in Lucite, that had been handled by Johnny Depp. Brikila — good building snow.

Striktla - snow that's no good for building. Tlarin — snow that can be sculpted into the delicate cor-

sages Eskimo girls pin to their whale parkas at promitime. The Eskimos' Hundred Words or Snow by Phil James, a con tribution to the Internet's How many words do Eskin have for snow" debate (http:// www.pacifier.com), Purists maintain that Eskimos in fact have 12 words for snow. Others argue that this is untrue and that Eskimos have only one pord meaning snow.

#### White on

PM DELIA, and I live at the Delano in Miami. There's no other hotel like it, Kelly Klein's new picture book about underwear is in the gift shop. I've read it. After all, I'm almost eight and my parents say I have the soul of My parents know the

owner, Ian . . . My parents also know the architect, Phillipe. He's French. He put weird chairs and white curtains in the lobby, and made all the rooms white white white and says that simple chic is the new thing. I don't understand what that means

piece of chocolate on your pil-low, you get an apple on the wall, which is annoying.... Salman Rushdie came for a secret book party last mouth and Madonna had ber birthday here. For Thanksgiving, everybody came. Kelly, Calvin, Kate, Barry, David. I saved all the clippings — it's more fun than collecting shells ... Naturally, I'm always busy. First I have to order breakfast from the



dreamy room-service guys in white shorts. Absolutely everybody who works here wears white white white. It's a detail. After channel-surfing on the white TV and checking my voice mail, I have to leave an understated mess that isn't white, drop a grape from my balcony (10 points for hitting tan guys on cell phones) and check with the front desk to see if any celebrities or press have arrived. Bob Morris is "Delia at the Delano" for the New York

#### Roll with it

BIRDS ARE all right. They're all pink on the inside. Any hird who's fit is all right, un-less she's nicked or ugly and she speaks backwards to you. If she thinks I'm boss, then thumbs up. Chicks in Japan don't even ask your name, just "Can I sleep with you tonight?" Certainly, my dear. I like American birds till they open their mouths. Then they annoy me. But if they refit, they're fit... I think Elastica are better [than Blur]. His bird [Justine Frischmann]

does it better than him. That's sad. I wouldn't have no bird of mine playing rock 'n' roll better than me. She'd have her bags packed and be out. You're not coming home if your bird's doing better than you. Everyone knows we're the people's band because we're honest and we dish out proper singles for the proper price. Our last album sold double the Blur album and that was our first album. If they want to fight I can stand the four of them up. That's what it boils down to at the end of the day. Damon first, then your bass player, then the other two. I'll knock em down like Charming Liam Gallagher

the voice of multiple Brit award winners Oasis, tells it like it is

Jackdaw wants your jewels. jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-718 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London ECIR SER.

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# Finance Guardian

### Exchange reform plans 'recipe for chaos'

Patrick Donovan City Editor

IR Nicholas Redmayne, chief executive of brokers Klein-Benson. yesterday underlined the loss of confidence in the Stock Exchange by the City's most senior practitioners, condemning as a "recipe for chaos" plans to speed through reforms by August. Sir Nicholas, who became

Gloves

Lioyds

FIERCE row broke Unichem's advisers pointed out yesterday in out that market-makers at

pharmacy group chem and that their market Lloyds Chemist, culminating makers always operate inde-

shares in Lloyds racing up to price higher in response to 498p at one stage.

quick to note that the jump in been much more modest.

UBS have historically trans-

acted heavy business in Uni-

pendently from any corporate

broking objectives. When questioned by the Takeover

Panel yesterday, UBS is

understood to have "put its

case robustly".

"This sounds like the stuff of the early 1980s. Things are much more tightly regulated.

nowadays," one adviser said. Another indicated that the

UBS market-maker would

As Gebe increased its cash offer for Lloyds to 500p, Dieter

German group, slammed the rival bidder, questioning the risks Unichem faces in taking

over a company "signifi-cantly larger than itself." He

cessfully integrated two sub-stantial businesses. Uni-

Sources indicated that Gehe

had decided against using its

own brokers. Cazenove, to

self due to the "regulatory risk." Observers believe there

remains a good chance that

whoever wins control of Lloyds will see the proposed

acquisition referred to the

ment insisting that its offer

for Lloyds remained the most

attractive since it "allows Lloyds Chemist shareholders

to participate in the benefits

of combining the businesses." Unichem's chief executive,

Jeffrey Harris, said: "We

remain confident that the ac-

hancing for Unichem in the

first full year and that with

Monopolies Commission.

off in

fight

fight to control

in allegations of stock market

manipulation involving one of the two suitors, Unichem.

The City's Takeover Panel was last night asked to inter-vene but advisers to Unichem

dismissed the charges as

Hostilities erupted in the

morning after Gehe, the ambi-

tious German group, in-creased its cash offer for

Soon there was a surge in

Unichem's share price, bring-ing the value of Unichem's ex-

isting cash and shares offer for Lloyds to a whisker of Gehe's

new bid terms. BZW, one of Unichem's stockbrokers, used this opportunity to raid the

stock market, paying 497%p to

acquire a near-10 per cent

Unichem shares — from 242p to 253p at one stage — had only come about because mar-

ket makers at UBS, Uni-

chem's main stockbroker. pushed the price higher.

At the point at which BZW launched its market raid.

IIBS was the only market

maker quoting a mid-market price of 253p. In a firm such as UBS, "chinese walls" are

supposed to divide market

makers from the corporate fi-nance and broking depart-ments which would be hand-

Market participants pointed out that without the rise in Unichem's price.

which pushed the "see-

through" value of its existing

offer (calculated on a formula

of 1.6 Unichem shares plus

ling the Unichem bid.

'scurrilous stuff''.

Stock Exchange manage-ment, was giving evidence to a Treasury and Civil Ser-vice select committee hear-

ing into the way the share market is being run.

The inquiry was set up after the acrimonious sacking of chief executive

thought the exchange still had a role, but needed to earn back the respect of its City membership. He was speaking after submitting a written statement to the

The statement said: "The Stock Exchange has seemed Michael Lawrence and unable to grasp the need to comes as the exchange is planning to revamp the planning to revamp the way the market works to bers. For this reason we be-

the first senior broker to go | head off competition from | lieve the corporate gover-public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | head off competition from public in the "whispering rival bourses. | Sir Nicholas told MPs he should now be reviewed. | He insisted Kleinwort no means speaking for all The atmosphere of confrontation, so keenly felt by member firms in recent years, must now end." Sir Nicholas told MPs he felt Mr Lawrence lost the confidence of the exchange ecause of a "lack of tact". He expressed misgivings to switch from quotedriven to order-driven

was not totally against market reforms but said proper time was needed for consultation. If the City's trading systems were changed to an order-driven mechanism, there should be a special provision for "block trading" which would allow the largest share parcels to be traded

no means speaking for all City players. Managing director Gordon Lawson said there were many advan tages to order-driven deal-ing which will "foster mar-ket integrity and thus promote enhanced investor

protection".
Unless the changes were made, business "could migrate either to other exchanges or take place off-

### Guru behind Pat Buchanan



Edited by Alex Brummer

T IS axiomatic that success ful US presidential candi-dates have their personal economic guru. Candidate Ronald Reagan was a follower of Professor Arthur Laffer, who famously drew him a chart on a table napkin demonstrating how a cut in tax rates would result in increased revenues as a result of greater enterprise and growth. Bill Clinton was a close fol-

lower of Professor Robert Reich, whose 1991 book Work of Nations argued that in an obetter shape. Volvo, which of Nations argued that in an increasingly globalised econo-my it was the skill base and capacities of the population

capacities of the population which would determine standards of living.
Enter Pat Buchanan, the victor in the New Hampshire primary, who has been broadly labelled an economic nationalist who would pullback from Nafta and Gatt and take on the might of corporate take on the might of corporate America, in the manner of the 19th-century populists who feared the economic power of the eastern establishment.

This might seem like ex-tremism, but when a single company such as AT&T— following the BT example can shed 40,000 jobs at a stroke while its chief enjoys a \$5 million (£3.2 million) rise in the value of his share options, such populism has a plain appeal. Indeed, the Labour industrial team in the United Kingdom has enjoyed almost a free ride on the greed and unpopularity of the privatised utilities.

have largely been regarded as rhetorical, he is not without an intellectual underpinning. His economic guru is Wilhelm Röpke, a relatively obscure German economist who died in 1966. Röpke served on Germany's Unemployment Commission until 1933, when he was fired by Hitler and sensibly went into exile.

He returned to Germany after the war to become senior economic adviser to Ludwig Brhard, who is widely regarded as the archi-tect of the nation's "economic miracle". Röpke's writings in-clude his classic work A Humane Economy, with its focus on a third way between free-wheeling capitalism and centralised economies. In his view, economics was not simply a series of equations but a philosophy which takes note of the human soul, an idea now enshrined in Buchanan's 'conservatism of the heart".

Trouble at mills

ERMANY'S biggest shipyard group has now moved to seek pro-tection from its creditors. No big deal perhaps, except for the group's 23,000 workers, and its suppliers and creditors. Shipbuilding is a tough courages abuse now.

business. Administrators at one of Denmark's oldest shipyards, for example, are on their third rescue plan. In Britain, Clydeside, Tyneside and Merseyside bear their own mute witness to the in-

dustry's decline.

But Europe's industrial problems are scarcely confined to its shipyards. Last month the aircraft manufacture. turer Fokker had to throw it-self on the mercy of the courts to stave off bankruptcy. France is trying to ram together two key players in its defence industry sault and Aerospatiale - and sell off another, Thomson, as defence spending is slashed.

The car industry is hardly without troubles. Demand is stagnant, unsold cars pile up Among the big players, Renault has already an nounced it is looking to cut more than 1,500 jobs in an got to the brink of a merger with Renault, saw operating profits slashed at its car div-

ision last year and is also tak-ing an axe to the payroll. Cars, ships, small commer-ctal jets, even military hardware are hardly the industries of the future. All are impor-tant, however, not least for the workforces. All need to restructure and will have to do so across national lines. So far, that restructuring owes too much to force of circumstance and too little to crossborder strategic thinking.

Politicians and industrialists posturing over monetary union might care to consider that there may be areas of European integration in more

#### Gehe gobsmacked

LSEWHERE, at least one German company, Gehe, was given a quick lesson in the ways of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. By raising its bid to Lloyds Chemist to 500p cash a share or £650 million in all. Gehe naturally believed it had delivered a knock-out punch leaving its British rival, Uni-chem, in the sand. But Unichem's advisers ap-

peared to have other ideas. As one of its brokers, BZW, raided the market and picked up 10 per cent of Lloyds Chemist shares, the main market-maker in Unichem stock appeared to raise the quoted price of Unichem shares, putting the alternative cash and paper offer well within reach of Gehe.

This manoeuvre produced cries of "foul" from the Gehe camp, which believes that the strict rules dividing corporate finance activity from market-making might have been breached. An informal protest has gone to the Take-

It is not the first time in a hostile takeover that such activity has gone on: SBC, for instance, was deemed to have overstepped the mark when it appeared to warehouse a huge stake, under cover of making a market, in the shares of Northern Electric on behalf of Trafalgar House. Limp-wristed action then en-

ritand for blue leans. Mr Haas

turned Levi into an American

icon on a par with Coke and McDonalds. Half of company

revenues now come from abroad — in Britain, 501 jeans

retail for the equivalent of \$85, compared with \$50 in New York and \$29.95 in dis-

count shops in San Francisco. But Levi is facing stiff com-

petition from cheaper rivals

such as Wrangler and Lee, as

well as higher priced designer

#### 92.6p) to 497.4p per Lloyds share, BZW would have been strong operating cash flow the enlarged group's gearing unlikely to find enough sell- | will be reduced rapidly."

Unions say branch closures

break Halifax jobs promise

يخ دوي

UNIONS and MPs yester-day attacked the Halifax building society for breaking a promise that merger with the Leeds would not result in job losses and warned that "merger mania" in the sector would cost 10,000 jobs by the end of the decade. The attack followed the an-

nouncement by the Halifax that it is to shut 120 branches to remove overlaps and is reviewing the organisation of

Despite assurances from the Halifax that it was stick-ing to its pledge of no compulsory redundancies and would not abandon any communities, the Banking Insurance and Finance Union reacted angrily to the rationalisation

plans.

Noel Howell, the union's spokesman, said: "It is sad. we are doing so."

fax are what we predicted. We could go. There will be job losses whether they are com-pulsory or not. In the past six years 120,000 finance jobs have gone. Many societies are vulnerable to takeover by banks and we want them to be honest when they go to their members about the threat to jobs and local branches."

BIFU said 2,000 lobs were being lost due to the Abbey National and National & tional 10,000 in the sector would face redundancy as a result of the TSB and Lloyds

TOURIST RATES -- BANK SELLS Italy 2,395 Singapore 2,12 Maita 0,5425 South Africa 5,90 Netherlands 2,4400 Spalln 182-75 Netw Zealand 2,25 Norway 9,55 Switzerland 1,76 France 7 46 Australia 199 Hong Kong 11.75 India 56.43 Portugal 227.25 Turkey 95,956 Saudi Arabia 5.76 USA 1.5100

but the job losses at the Halibelieve hundreds of jobs

Provident merger. An addi-

Bank merger. Halifax chief executive Mike Blackburn said: "Our customers and staff can see that we still have duplicate branches in many towns and cities. They expect us to address this over time, and

... AND IN LONG-SUFFERING SCOTTISH TOWN

### Shotts closes ranks to resist closure

Martyn Halsail Northern Industrial Correspondent

SMALL Scottish town launched a rescue for its largest employer after Commins, the American diesel engine manufac-turers, announced the clo-sure of its plant at Shotts. An "anchor" during turbu-

The closure, part of an in- skilled workforce at the ternational reorganisation forefront of engineering for which will mean 2,000 mapy years and success plant which employed 1,400 was being "consolidat redundancies, threatens to fully broken into the most at its peak in the mid-1970s. at Darlington, Durham.

devastate a town of 9,000, | difficult export markets." already crippled by coal and steel industry contractions. Labour and trade unions have vowed to ogy at the plant "represent miner, John Shearer, 59, reverse the decision after one of the most important said: "There's nothing left. disclosures of an insufficampaign yesterday cient government rescue

package. Dr John Reid, MP for Strathclyde, with the loss lent economic change. "It has maintained a highly

Bill Speirs, Scottish TUC per cent in an area where deputy general secretary, said the skills and technolsurviving elements of the devastation that has hit our manufacturing industry since 1980." The plant appeared profitable, 60 per cent of output was exported and productivity had recently improved by 25

per cent, he said. Local people reacted with shock to closure plans for a

| Unemployment nudges 15 coal was the main employer until the 1950s. A former It's a dead village now ... the only other employers are a bakery and an ice cream factory and they will be lucky if they have 150 iobs between them." Cummins Engine Co. which employs some 5,000

of its 27,000 international workforce in the UK, said British engine production was being "consolidated"

#### Levi chiefs plan to button up jeans maker's shares

EVI Strauss is planning to mgo completely private in a deal that values the world's largest jeans maker at nearly \$14 billion (£9 billion). Chairest associates are planning to buy back the shares belonging to nearly 200 Haas family members for \$2.5 billion. The deal however, has been complicated by the

death last week of Mr Haas's aunt Rhoda Haas Goldman, whose family controls 12.4 per cent of the company. Mr Haas, a former Peace

Corps volunteer and a White House adviser under the Nixon administration, justified the move by saying it would allow him to manage over the longer term.

Since taking over 12 years ago, Mr Haas has presided ago, Mr Haas has presided stitching on the backpocket, over a dramatic turnaround the oldest apparel trademark of the company. Sales have nearly trebled to almost \$7 billion and profits surged to over \$700 million last year. Mr Haas ruthlessly axed operations unrelated to the jeans business, and cut 12,000 jobs between 1983 and 1986.

Levi Strauss started out as a dry good wholesaler on San Francisco's Market Street in 1850, It also stocked jeans --guaranteed not to tear or rip - for miners, mechanics, farmers and cowhands. "For Men Who Toil," read the 1900 The original Levi Strauss, a

Bavarian immigrant, introduced the double row of still in use today. And he patented non-scratch copper rivets on the pocket corners. In 1886 a patch showing two horses trying to pull apart a pair of jeans was added to known as the two-horse



#### Near the rocks . . . Bremen shippard workers leave their plant to demonstrate for jobs Bremer Vulkan in crisis move

#### Mark Mileser European Business Editor

HR jobs of 23,000 workers in some of Germany's unemployment blackspots are in the balance after the country's higgest shipyard group said it was ap-

plying for court protection from its creditors. The move, which came after all-night crisis talks at Bremer Vulkan failed to pro-duce an immediate rescue package, will give the shipyard group a breathing space in which to try to reach a deal with its creditors. The talks ers and politicians.

admitted that a number of its | and are trying to "save as | over an agreed period. The operating units were insol-vent and that losses for 1995 cording to Bremen's mayor, were around DM1 billion (£450 million). Banking sources estimate terday that he thought a

that the company owes its banks some DM1.4 billion. The shipyard group is the main employer in Bremen, where unemployment is well above the German average. and it also employs thousands of workers in eastern

Germany. Yesterday more than 2,000 Bremen workers braved freezing temperatures to prolob losses. Bremen city officials regard

government and the Euro-pean Commission to provide financial aid to the company. According to German bank-ing sources, the courts will appoint a supervisor who will try to work out a deal between the company and its creditors allowing the company to stay in business. Under German law, creditors can agree to have their

Henning Scherf. While Mr Scherf said yes-

rescue "cannot be realised

without a new partner", he called on the banks, the Bonn

group has an order backlog of some DM10 billion, but fierce competition and the strength of the German mark have forced it to cut prices to the

board said in a statement that it "hopes to find a lasting and workable solution for the affected companies and their employees".
In addition to its heavy

debts and operating losses, Bremer Vulkan is being forced by the European Commission to redeploy some DM600 million.

This sum was originally earmarked for investment in rs and politicians. The company and its employ- loans written down to as little its eastern German yard resterday Bremer Vulkan ees as a lifeline for the region as 35 per cent of face value used for other purposes. its eastern German yards but

ing similarly early when inflationary pressures ease."
Figures published since the

meeting show a sharp fall in inflation in January, suggest-

ing retailers were discounting heavily in the face of subdued consumer demand.

But the CSO said that despite the fall in sales last month, overall volumes

remained on an upward irend. Sales between Novem-

ber and January were up by

1.2 per cent on the preceding three months, and by 1.8 per cent on the same period a

year previously. Breaking down the monthly

change, officials said that household goods stores bore the brunt of the downturn, posting a 1.9 per cent fall in volumes. Clothing and foot-

wear shops saw sales dip by 1.2 per cent, while department

stores witnessed a 1.5 per cent

drop. Sales at supermarkets

were unchanged on the month, the CSO said.

Some economists said the

poorer than expected January figures cast doubt on the Gov-

ernment's forecast of 3.5 per

cent growth in consumption during 1996. But the Treasury

stressed that retail sales ac

counted for only a third of

total spending, and said today's analysis of the compo-

nents of Gross Domestic

Product would shed further



Fired up ... Commercial Union chief John Carter is prepared to force market share rather than accept unprofitable business proposages share

### Buoyant insurers enjoy new lease of life

borrowing almost inevitable, especially after the publica-tion yesterday of the minutes of the January monetary meeting between the Chancel-OUTLOOK/ Commercial Union profit rise fits trend but it's a cyclical business, says Roger Cowe Governor of the Bank of England, Eddie George — which showed softer Bank opposition to some policy loosening.

surance reporting season, copying the 14 per cent increase in operating profit reported by Guardian Royal Exchange when it kicked off

flated to an increase of almost a third when gains in the Carter yesterday with reference to motor insurance, that added in, emphasising the siznificance of capital markets to insurance companies, and how well the latter do when markets are booming as now.

The difference in the growth figures also emphasises how difficult it is to measure the performance of insurance companies, a fact confirmed by CU's contention that on a more realistic ac-counting basis its profit from sales of life insurance products was really £513 million, not the £244 million reported.

Whichever way you measure it, insurance companies are coining it and Royal will confirm that today.

But it is in the nature of the insurance business that, just when things are looking rosy, they are actually losing their bloom. Partly this is the usual claims or bad debts come in. not subject to the physical choose between the products

into the market. That drives down premium rates so that profits fall until enough people get out of the market to restore rates again. Insurers ritually insist, as

did CU's chief executive John they will not indulge in pricecutting just to maintain market position. "We are pre-pared to forgo market share rather than accept unprofit-able business," Mr Carter said. But this masks more substantial issues.

The big insurers like CU. GRE and Royal have traditionally made many of their sales through agents or insur-ance brokers, while building societies have accounted for a large proportion of buildings insurance — sold at ridiculously high prices to captive mortgage customers. Inertia sustained this dis-

tribution system for many years after its natural life had expired, but now companies such as Direct Line have intervened to change it.
The fact is that insurance

both real and the savings optimism when policies or variety — is a commodity loans are sold, only to be foll product. Try as they might to lowed by gloom when the create clear identities, to invent unique products, to offer Insurance is also intensely cy-clical, more so than most in-better investment perfordustries because capacity is mance, there is little to

OMMERCIAL Union constraints which limit ex-yesterday maintained pansion in manufacturing companies, except the price, the optimism of the in-surance reporting season, good times roll insurers pile selling is a low-cost operation that those organisations are this sea change, but stocktraditional distribution routes, which are therefore doomed to shrink.

One alternative might be to

and building societies, except that those organisations are looking to insurance to save them from the nightmare of their traditional lending busi-

Insurance covering life savings, products and general insurance of cars, property etc, within UK

life insurance business — pre-viously smaller than most of its competitors — in the composite insurance sector. It is also behind much of the increase in 1995 figures, and the shares issued to acquire it ex-plain the decline in earnings per share despite the large advance in profits.

There is another cycle, however — an acquisiton and expension one, which sees great optimism for a year or wrong. That has happened to CU twice in the 1970s and 1960s as it falled to build profitable business in the US.
Hopefully European expension will be less fraught.

ance as a global industry. In the past few years CU has made substantial strides to RESSURE on Lloyd's of London to cement a multi-billion pound settlement with its warring lessen its dependence on the

ance companies.
All insurers are affected by this sea change, but stock-brokers NatWest believe that

CU are best-positioned, together with General Acci-

dent, because of the mix of distribution channels and

their position in each chan-

nel. Sun Alliance came out worst in NatWest's study.

chial in the context of insur-

But all this is a little paro

UK, notably with the purchase of French group, Vic-toire for Fr12 billion (£1.5 billion) in 1994.

The inclusion of Victoire has boosted CU's lucous from life incurance business. ness has started to crumble because of the crisis of confidance.
The High Court ordered
Stephen Merrett, once a dep-try chairman and leading

together with his former com-panies, market agents and its auditors, top accountant Ernst & Young, to pay interim damages to investors or two after the new venture, followed by gloom for much longer as everything goes decided that nearly 2,000 Mer. It is and settled litigation but John Mays, chairman rett Names were victims of negligent underwriting.
A series of legal actions has raised serious doubts over the survival of Lloyd's and has started to have a significant

Although profits for 1993 are expected to total about £1 billion, with an even better Names intensified yesterday as litigating investors were awarded 29.5 million by the courts and as it emerged that the insurance market's busiperformance the following year, Chatset says there is clear evidence from the 1985 figures that insurance business is going elsewhere. Lloyd's reports its profit and loss figures three years in

yesterday.

Retail sales

Retail sales Index, percentage

change on month, 1995-96.

J FMAMIJASONDJ

David Coleman, chief economist at Canadian Bank of Imperial Commerce, said: "There used to to be two certainties in life — death and taxes. Now there's almost a third, a base was cut next wently."

The only disagreement at last month's meeting was

over the timing of the 0.25 percentage point cut to 6.25 per cent, with Mr George recommending a delay but the Chancellor favouring im-

Mr Clarke said: "The inter

est rate rises between Septem-ber 1994 and February 1995

represented a deliberate move

towards acting earlier in the face of inflationary risks.

There are good reasons for act-

£9.5m for Names as new

business deserts Lloyd's

ket's financial results, the in-fluential analyst Chatset said

rate cut next month."

mediate action.

ITTERLY

weather and heavy betting on the national lottery hit

high street activity last

month, boosting hopes of further cuts in interest rates. The Central Statistical

nay have displaced some

January's cold snap also de-

sonally adjusted data made a cut next month in the cost of

lor, Kenneth Clarke, and the

Lise Bookingham

cold

arrears so the final results are still estimates, but Chat-set said that a sharp drop in premium income during 1995 showed Lloyd's 'has a credibility problem with the pur-chasers of insurance, particularly from the US".

Charles Sturge of Chatset said this decline in business

with Names. He said another 21 billion

should be contributed to the settlement which, at present, totals £2.8 billion.

yet that Lloyd's auditors will participate in the settlement came from Ernst & Young after yesterday's Merrett indement Mr Merrett was ordered to pay £500,000 of the damages — a figure which damages — a figure which could force the former Lloyd's star into bankruptcy — but most of the liability will fall on other defendants. As the of joint and several liability if any one defendant cannot pay then another will have to

pick up the bill. Ernst & Young — the defendant with the deepest pockets in this case — said that, slong with other potentially liable firms of Lloyd's auditors, it is negotiating terms on which it can can its exposure to courtroom action by making a con-

of the Merrett Names action group, said a contribution from the auditing profession of less than £500 million otals £2.8 billion. would probably not be suffi-The strongest indication cient to deflect legal actions.

### Dassault dragged to Aerospatiale altar

Country analysis

Alex Duval Smith reports from Paris on the first move in a shake-up of the French the first move in a shake-up of the French the first move in a shake-up of the French the first move in a shake-up of the French the first move comes ahead of the year. The move comes ahead of the president Jacques Chirac's the first move comes ahead of the year. The Dassault-Aerospatiale which makes the Airbus, heli-

HE French government eration against mergers or takeovers from Germany and the UK. yesterday arranged the marriage of the coun-try's two leading defence companies, announcing they would merge as part of a plan to streamline the industry for the post-cold war era. The prime minister's office said that the public Aerospa-

tiale company and Dassoult, a Stritish Aerospace.
The company, whose 11,800 aerospatiale to create an aerospatic congiomerate "in the plane builder, must develop a manufacture merger plan to safeguard internal French defence co-op business jets, is debt-free and percent to the mational interest". Further congiomerates are expected to be created in de-

Dassault, which is known to be reluctant about the plan and which in recent days has taken out boastful full-page advertisements in French newspapers, had begun a co-operation programme with

defence industry for the post-cold war era copters, satellites and missiles, has more than 38,000 staff and debts of some

However, the move is seen by analysts as a belated and much-needed attempt to up-date the French defence industry, which remains an apparatus still geared to the cold war.

A government spokesman said it wanted Dassault and

The move comes aftend of President Jacques Chirac's announcement, expected tonight, of a full-scale military shake-up. Apart from abolishing military service, President Chirac is expected to outline France's new close military co-operation with Nato and nave the way for a military co-operation with Nato and pave the way for a tion expected to cost up to S0,000 jobs.

The French government also announced yesterday

that it would privatise one of the companies in which the job cuts are expected to fall: Thomson, which specialises in defence and consumer elec-

dustry was told to get over its petty rivalries and get on with competing in the international market.

Nevertheless, the government move is a clear piece of

"raison d'Etat" — a republican version of divine right since neither company is said to have been consulted ahead

at the ball HE average shareholder spends about five seconds

Handsomest

reports of all

take first prize

glancing at the annual com-pany report that drops on to his mat before binning it, according to the leading barris ter Richard Sykes QC. He should know. He has

ploughed through the annual accounts of 100 firms, a duty that he claimed yesterday have enjoyed. This herculean labour v

assigned to a panel chaired by Mr Sykes and sponsored by the Stock Exchange and the three Institutes of Chartered Accountants. The mission: to choose the two handsomest clearest, most informative company reports.

This accolade demanded serious treatment, and the Lord Mayor of London hosted the awards ceremony at the Mansion House and announced the winners to 200 striped suits.
Reuters won the award for

firms in the 250 million-plus section, adding the multime-dia company's name to a list of prizewinners including BP and Cadbury Schweppes. The industrial engineering firm Triplex Lloyd scooped the "small" company title for the second time, having won

Its group chief executive, Graham Lockyer, did not gloat "In our half-year state ment we reported net assets in excess of £50 million, so runners up represented here today may not need to fear our competition next year." Mr Sykes said there were some "very disappointing" entries which got as far as the

it in 1993,

shortlist, chosen from 150 reports. He praised Reviers and Triplex bloyd for quality and quantity of information and good use of headlines and

For their efforts, each com-pany received a state-based, silver-fronted plaque engraved with a City skyline.

**News in brief** 

#### Six banks to market **Railtrack shares**

THE Department of Transport has chosen a syndicate of six investment banks to market shares in Railtrack to institutional investors later this year. The department announced in a statement that the banks are Credit Lyonnais, Robert Flemins. James Capel (part of the HSBC Group), Nikko, Schroder Wertheim and WestLB. The privatisation is due to take place in May, and the Government said earlier this year it expected to start marketing the shares part month. — Reuter

#### Volvo profits in reverse

VOLVO'S fourth-quarter pre-tax profit fell 38 per cent to a lower-than-expected 2.282 billion kronor (2216 million) as its car div-ision posted a loss. Shares in the luxury Swedish car maker fell as much as five kronor, more than 3.6 per cent, to 131.5 kronor in Stockholm after the earnings figures, which showed full-year pre-tax profit down to 13.05 billion kronor from 16.38 billion. The 841 million kronor loss in the car division was countered by Volvo Trucks' record profit of 5 billion kronor. — Bloomberg

#### Japan photo film pledge

ON the eve of Japanese prime minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's departure to meet President Clinton in California, Japan's fair trade commission amounced yesterday that it would investigate unfair competition in the Japanese photo film market. The commission cited a dispute between Eastman Kodak and Fuji Photo Film, in which the American company has alleged that four wholesalers loyal to Fuji dominate the market. Fuji has a 70 per cant share and Kodak 10 per cent. — Kavin Rafferty

#### Competition rules eased

COMPETITION and consumer affairs minister John Taylor has made some changes to competition law in an efort to "streamline the rules to lessen bureaucracy, costs and uncertainty for business". Two orders remove the automatic need to notify restrictive agreements if the combined total UK turnover of the companies concerned is £20 million or less, or if the agreement is covered by a "block exemption" regulation exempting the agreement from European prohibitions on restrictive agreements. — Renter

#### BT set for Italian link

BRITISH Telecom yesterday confirmed it was in talks with ENI. Italy's huge state owned energy group, which could further its ambition to become a lead player in the European telecommunications market. BT hopes to form a joint venture with ENI which has been looking for someone to manage its telecom network. Franco Bernabe, ENI's managing director, said the group was "nammering out a deal" with BT. — Nicholas Bannister

#### **UK print for Irish paper**

TONY O'REILLY'S Independent Newspapers will begin printing its Sunday Independent title in Reading Berkshire, on Saturday, February 24. The first print run will be 36,000. The Sunday Independent will be the first Irish national paper to be printed outside Ireland. — Extel

# Not a Grand way

to curry favour

#### Underside

Dan Atkinson

HE security checks at Tuesday's Grand Met swansong for its chairman Lord Sheppard were a reminder that, despite the company's very best efforts to cover the world with its globally-minded products, there were people out there unwilling to see their grievances soothed away with a slosh of Old Eight or even a helping of Toaster Strudel. Undeterred, however, in its attempts to build a big, beautiful Grand Met world, the company marries cul-tures, sometimes with startling results. For the Ger-man market, Grand Met is organisation". Quite so. offering Fantasia, advertised as Indian pork curry, Bombay-style. That's right, pork curry. This is unlikely to be a hit in Bombay, but the Germans will surely

NCANNY echoes of Chairman Mao and "thoughts" are to be found in the Spring '96 Review from Smythe Dorward Lambert, a "communica-tion management consul-tancy". Choice samples of Newspeak include: "Line managers are part of the centripetal force which can gine the corporation together on certain issues (trans: bosses fire people); "Leaders ... must also ... represent the firm as a whole, being its standard (trans: bosses should say sorry after firing people) and "The day-to-day task of espons-ing the value of the organisation and facilitating success ... lies with the

HOT tip for "one of the most fashionable tax havens of the next decade" comes courtesy of Scope International, "privacy information" pub-

lisher; if privacy publish-ing sounds oxymoronic, don't worry — the privacy in question is strictly fiscal. Campione d'Italia is "Switzerland's secret semi-tropi-cal tax haven", Scope en-thuses; residence "gives one all the advantages of being Swiss, but none of the disadvantages". How come? Because Campione is "a separate country from Switzerland" - a separate country called Italy. One call from the Underside established that Campione is in the Italian province of Como. Let's hope Scope's "expert" reports on Monaco and the Isle of Man are more accurate.



OT everybody in the Labour movement is busy sucking up to the City. The GMB union has gone head to head with the Corporation of London in the fight for jobs. In the process, the union is appealing to residents of the Barbican estate, which —

on chaps, even bond dealers have to live somewhere.

Barbican estate, which —
despite being the residence
of the late John Smith MP
— one would not normally associate with the workers cause. At issue are the waste-disposal units installed in the flats more than 20 years ago. The cor-poration says they are ob-solete and is balloting residents on their removal, thus threatening GMB maintenance jobs. The union has written to house holders, contesting the cor-poration's claims and warning that, should the units go, "there is a possi-bility of rais and other vermin becoming rife". Come

NCE we had "publicists" and press agents. But, finding the label a trille downmarket, they transformed themselves into public rela-tions men. Now, it seems. the time has come to ditch the PR tag. Burson-Mar-steller this week declared itself "the world's leading perception management firm". Sorry?

BACK to Italy, which would be few people's favourite in the race to meet the Maastricht EMU criteria. But the stakes are high, according to Piat boss Gianni Agnelli. "Either we are in it or it is decline [for Italy]". Mr Ag-nelli thundered in the Ital-iun press. Mr Agnelli is put-ting his money where his mouth is. "I have bet that we will make it for '99 ... and I have not wagered small amounts", he told the same interviewer. But just how much money has the multi-millionaire car chief staked? Flat was less than forthcoming. "We would not have any comment to

Bottoms Up off-licence chain, which threatens the wine-drinking public with the horrors of Chateau Anorak. Elec-tronic mail types are of-fered the specially commissioned "Cuve Internet", which hails, unsurpris-ingly, from California. Luckily, this virtual sluice is available only to goggieeyed freaks (sorry, Internet

make on that," it said.

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Four men and a bob . . . but winning has not been a habit Alex Duval Smith talks to Albert Grimaldi

about this weekend's final run in the driving seat of the principality's bobsleigh team

### Monaco's ice prince hot for final sleigh

years trying to get the three right, Prince Albert of Mo-naco has decided to end his career on the world bobsleigh

Prince? Career? Bobsleigh? Yes. As the world worried about the bazardous combination of the Prince of Wales and a polo-stick, the Grimaldi heir was trying to succeed at 50mph on icy horseshoe bends. With a little help from

South Wales. It is not that he has failed, nor that Prince Rainier III has finally decided to hand over the reins of the Mediterranean sovereign state. But this weekend's four-man bob event at the world champion-ships in Calgary is likely to he the last for Albert Gri-naldi — as he appears on the drivers' starting list.

"The pressures of work are getting too much," he said from his hotel room. Monaco had not been able to enter the two-man event in Canada last weekend because Prince Albert was tied up with official duties at the annual television festival.

"It is becoming increas-ingly hard to find the time to travel and do sufficient out-ofseuson training and spend time with my team-mates." said the 37-year-old.

T IS the dilemma of every top amateur: how to juggle the demands of one's sport, job and social life. After 10 contact in the Côte d'Azur conniche in 1982. His brother inniche in 1982. His brother-in-law, Princess Caroline's hus-band, died in a powerboat accident.

"My father thought my choice of sport a little strange at first, but I explained that I ilked the challenge of it and he has always been support-ive," said Prince Albert. The biggest challenge was

finding enough people among the principality's 28,900 pop-ulation who were prepared to put away the suncream and go training with the team.

"Most people had not even
heard of bobsleigh and certainly could not spell it," said
Prince Albert, who set up the
Monaco Bobsleigh and Skeleton Federation in 1987 after
taking a course in St Moritz.

But South Wales came to But South Wales came to the rescue, in the shape of Malcolm Lloyd, a former miner, soldier and member of the Great Britain No. 1 bol sleigh team. He was hired as coach, and was soon joined in Monaco by the Welsh rugby player Mark Thomas, son of Clem who captained Wales in

With Prince Albert as driver and Thomas as brake-man there was still a need for pushers. So the 460-acre kingdom was scoured for men with "the explosive power of sprinters combined with body weight". The royal choice fell under pressure from his on a croupler from the casino lather to avoid fatal injury. and a palace gardener.

the Fifties.



Prince and the pusher  $\dots$  Monaco were third in the French championship and hope to be in the top 20 in Calgary

eans and an Italian textile company based in Monte Carlo, Prince Albert bought equipment. On the front of his bobsleighs he stuck his cost of arms - two monks with swords, in honour of François Grimaldi who, after being thrown out of Genoa in 1297, put on a habit and staged a bloodless coup to win

Winning is not a quality. the bobsleigh circuit. But he is hurt by references to Eddie The high-speed Curse of the Helped by Nike, Diesel the Eagle and Cool Runnings | Lloyd, whose contract sled down an ice track is an in Monaco yet," he said.

- the Walt Disney film about | comes up for renewal at the | amazing sensation, and it's the Jamaica bobsleigh team.
After all, his team came a
respectable third in the French championships this winter. "We got off to a poor start this season but we have been getting better. If all goes well this weekend we could be in the top 20, out of 32 slides,"

said the prince.
Lloyd thinks this is realistic. "There is nothing wrong with Albert's driving ability. We just have to secure a good

end of this month, said working with the prince was no problem. "The trouble is that he is in such demand. It is difficult for him to follow a training schedule.

"After Prince Albert retires he will continue to take an in-terest in the team and to encourage us. My ambition is to get the team in really good shape for Nagano in 1998." Prince Albert said: "I will miss the thrill of this addic-

great to pull a team together. Holding together the king-dom for his 72-year-old father will be his main concern in future. But the pressure is off in terms of finding a wife and having children; the throne will pass to Andrea, Princess Caroline's 11-year-old daughter, if he fails.

Bobsleigh, it is clear, is not the best arena for finding ust starting. There are about

#### Sport in brief

#### Capriati back with quick and easy win

JENNIFER CAPRIATI needed only 51 minutes yesterday to mark an impressive return to the WTA tennis circuit after a lengthy absence, writes David Irvine. The 18-year-old American overpowered the seventh seed. Kristie Boogert of the Netherlands, 6-1, 6-2 at the Nokia Grand Prix in Essen. Today she plays Austria's Barbara Schett for a quarter-final place.

"It was fun. It was good." smiled Capriati, who dominated a one-sided contest from the baseline and showed no sign of the hip injury that forced her to abort an earlier and much publirised comeback attempt in Paris a week ago. Capriati, who in 1991 was ranked sixth in the world, had not won a match since August 1993, when she beat Arantxa Sanchez Vicario in the semi-finals of the Canadian Open. There she lost the final to Steffi Graf and then, after suffering a first-round defeat by Leila Meskhi at the US Open, she walked away from the game.

After a court appearance and spells in a drug rebabilitation centre, the young millions iress attempted a comeback at Philadelphia in November 1994 but lost to Anke Huber and disappeared yet again. "This time I'm ready," she declared in Paris.
"The desire is there. It's still inside me."

#### Girardelli still king of the hill

MARC GIRARDELLI yesterday proved himself one of skiing's altime greats when he won the men's combined at the Alpine World Championships in the Spanish Sierra Nevada. The 32-year-old Austrian-born skier, who represents Luxembourg, stood 2.42sec behind the leader Mario Reiter, of Austria, after Tuesday's slalom but secured the title for the third time after yesterday's downhill with a winning overall time of 3min 31.95sec. The downhill course, he nevertheless complained, was not steen enough. "It should have been a cross-country course." he said. "The race was a bit of a lotters

a bit of a lottery.

Lasse Kjus of Norway, the holder and Olympic champion, had to settle for silver in 3.32.20, 0.25 behind, with Austria's Günther Mader third in 3.32.93. Girardelli, whose career has been plagued by injuries, remains a dominant figure in his 17th World Cup season. Fie has won 11 world championship medials — four gold, four silver, three bronze — and two Olympic silver medals

#### McMillan joins Lewis stable

COLIN McMILLAN, the former WBO feather weight champion from east London, has signed a "flexible" contract with Lennox Lewis's promoters Panos Eliades and Frank Maloney with a view to challenging for a world title within three fights. The first will be a British title challenge to Doncaster's Jonjo Irwin in March or April. Assuming he wins, McMillan will make a voluntary de-fence before challenging Luisito Espinosa of the Philippines for the WBC title in London some time in July, between the end of Wimbledon and the start of the Olympic Games in Atlanta.

#### Polgar senior a world-beater

ZSUZSA POLGAR, at 26 the oldest of Hungary's trio of chessplaying sisters, clinched the women's world championship at Jaen in Spain yesterday when she defeated China's Xie Jun 87. 14. terites Leonard Barden. The 25-year-old from Beijing had held the title since 1991 but was totally outplayed this time, winnin two games to Polgar's six and surviving only 24 moves in the final game, the shortest of the series, before resigning a knight down. Zsuzsa still ranks only No. 2 in the world behind her 19-year-old sister Judit. The youngest Polgar has consistently refused to compete for the women's crown, preferring top men's events; she is now in the world top 10.

#### Bailey sprint record in doubt

DONOVAN BAILEY's world indoor 50 metres record of 5.56sec in Nevada on February 5 remains unratified because of a dubious start. The Canadian beat the previous best of 5,51 set by East Germany's Manfred Kokot in 1973 and equalled by the American James Sandford in 1961, but this week's Grand Prix standings do not include any world-record bonus points for him. "The ratifica-tion of Bailey's record is questionable," said Bob Hersh, chair-man of the men's records panel of USA Track and Field. "From the videotape there appears to have been a false start

#### Racing

### **Champion test** for Alderbrook 1700 Interest in the control of the

Chris Hawkins

F TODAY'S Wincanton meeting survives a 7am inportant pieces in the Champion Hurdie puzzie should be The first will concern the

fitness of Alderbrook following his knee surgery during the summer, and the second will tell us whether the once-raced Right Win is a Cheltenham

It was a year ago today in the Kingwell Hurdle that Alderbrook first burst on the scene. Stories about his prowess at home had been leaking out for some time, but that was the first public demon-stration that he was truly

Cheltenham confirmed it was no flash in the pan and fully vindicated Ernie Pick's deci sion to send him to Kim Bailey. But the owner's subse quent plan to go back to the Flat with the horse misfired, resulting in the wear and tear

Until Christmas connections were by no means sure that Alderbrook would make it, but a long rest has worked wonders. In recent weeks he has made rapid strides, although he will not be 100 per

cent today. Right Win is a similar sort to Alderbrook - a group three horse on the Flat with a liking for some cut in the ground. In other words, an ideal prospective hurdler provided he could jump.

On his debut at Sandown last month he skipped round and beat five previous win-ners with authority. It was an impressive performance and there is no telling what heights he might reach. We should know much

more about that today as besides Alderbrook, whom he meets at levels, he takes on the very useful Land Afar,

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twice cruising coming down the hill in the Champion, but

Land Afar was runner-up to Atours at Sandown three weeks ago on his reapearance and will no doubt have bene fited from that run.

injury has ruled out Atours today, but his trainer, David Elsworth, who has a great re-cord in this race, is represented by Muse. He has been off the course for a long time, but it would be no surprise to see him run well. Clifton Beat will like the

sharper track and drier ground than when a fading sixth in the Tote Trophy at Newbury last time, but he has a lot to do at the weights. With plenty of impondera-bles this is not a race to invest in heavily. Alderbrook (3.35) is my selection because

His majestic success at heltenham confirmed it was o flash in the pan and fully end of his world. The other big race on the card, the Jim Ford Chase, has attracted one of the most enigmatic chasers in training

namely Barton Bank.
Careless jumping and broken blood vessels have combined to prevent him fulfilling his considerable potential and one doubts now that he ever will. Last time in the King

George at Sandown he was prominent for a long way until feeling the pace and eventually being pulled up behind One Man. If he had one of his going

days he would win this afternoon, being well favoured by the weights, but I prefer Lusty Light (3.05), an un-lucky faller at the third-last at Windsor on Saturday. Brave Patriarch (2.00)

showed enough with a debut third to Master Tribe at Newbury to be fancied for the opening Mere Maiden Hurdle, while the course and distance winner Robins Pride (4.35). beaten a head at Sandown last time, should be thereabouts in the Ilchester Handicap Hurdle. At Lingfield, Tenor (2.10),

dropping down the ratings, is napped to win the Great Ex-pectations Handicap for the second year running. Today's meeting at Huntingdon has been abandoned because of snow on the course, the 80th meeting lost this National Hunt season.

#### Wincanton runners and riders with form guide

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207 46-443 FORESEAR (18) W O'Gorman 3-9-6 

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302 000-95 8CB00 (14) R Pyecock 7-8-10
303 200-110- MARLEGUINS WALK (2007) (00) R O'Sultivan 5-8-9
304 58-575 MONTREUS TREAK (12) R Borlos 8-8-9
305 002-92 JURGLE PATROL (3) C Morray 4-8-7
306 002-93 JURGLE PATROL (3) C Morray 4-8-7
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3.30 (3m 4f 79)dalp 1, GALAPPRO, M Larson (10-11 fav): 2, Mildra's Star (100-30): 3, Brigamosow (7-1), 6 ran, 6, 6. (C Britany) Tota: 22.50: £1.90, £1.70, Dual F: 22.20, CSF: £4.84.
4.00(11m 100)dalp 1, CHAUVELIN, Doan McKoown (7-2): 3, Bambhaftott (11-8 fav): 3, Balliwick (5-2) 6 rap. 3, 5, (M Johnston) Tota: £4.40; £2.00, £1.20 Dual F: £3.70, CSP: £8.70.
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Trials and tribulations of Graham Taylor's life . . . above, anxiety on the England bench in the fateful European Championship match against Sweden in 1992 and, left, intensity as Aston Villa's manager in 1989. A public apology was in order, middle, to Watford's fans in 1982 after he accused them of lack of support for the team; and last November, right, he quietly contemplated the end of his Wolves reign



An easy target ... Taylor is portrayed as "Turnip"

### Taylor says yes to Watford

Russell Thomas

RAHAM TAYLOR IS back in charge at Watford — almost 20 years after he launched the unfashionable Vicarage Road club to undreamt-of

Twenty-four hours after Glenn Roeder departed, the First Division strugglers confirmed Taylor's return. this time as general man-ager to head up a new regime to resurrect Watford's fortunes.

After a board meeting the club issued a brief state-ment: "Graham will have overall responsibility for running all aspects of the club on a day-to-day basis." Watford have called a news conference at Vicar age Road for 10am today to parade Taylor and said that, until then, there

would no further comment. Earlier yesterday, club officials did nothing to dispel the conviction that Taylor, synonymous with Watford's rapid rise to the old First Division in his first reign, was about to

The former England manager had been out of the game since his split from Wolves in November, and a development at Molineux yesterday pointed further to him returning to Wat-ford. Bobby Downes, his No. 2 at Wolves, paved the way to a reunion by reject-ing a three-year contract to stay at Molineur as youth

development officer. Several names associated with Taylor's golden era of 1977-1987 were being linked with places in the new Watford structure. among them Pat Rice, Ar-senal's youth team chief, and Tom Walley, currently with Millwall.

Although Taylor was reviled as "Turnip" by one his England failings, his reputation has remained gloriously intact at Watford, whom he took from the old Fourth Division to the First in five seasons.

### Jefferies' knowing touch has Hearts fluttering

Patrick Glenn on the quarter-finalists with Scottish Cup celebration on their mind

N THE vicinity of Tynecas | apparently, a sense of tle Park there is a growing conviction that Hearts will celebrate the 40th anniversury of their last Scottish Cup triumph by lifting the oldest trophy this year.

That optimism does not suring from a comparison of the present squad with a 1956 team littered with internationals - Dave MacKay, Alex Young and the fearsome in-side-forward trio of Alfie Conn, Willie Bauld and Jimmy Wardhaugh.

Those fans old enough to remember a largely one-sided 3-1 victory over Celtic by a side who went on to win two league championships and two Scottish League Cups in the next four years would be dismissive of any claims on the last eight of the Scottish behalf of today's possessors of

But they are likely to share with younger supporters a resurgent feeling of impending glory based on the trans-formation effected at the old club since Jim Jefferies became manager last July.

Cricket

World Cup '96

Live Commentary

0891 22 88 28

Match Reports

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Sport

@The Guardian

Jefferies, a lifelong Hearts fan who spent 15 years as a are days like that."

His fear that despite respectable opening few matches, the mediocrity of recent years would return was justified on October 21. when Hearts went bottom. The overhaul was almost as swift as it was sweeping. The French goalkeeper Gilles Rous-set, Italian defender Pasquale Bruno and Swedish striker Hans Eskilsson were signed for peanuts and younger play-ers, notably Gary Locke, Allan McManus, Paul Ritchie and Allan Johnston, were given ex-

tended opportunities to prove The Jefferies touch has not only taken Hearts into joint third place in the league and Cup - they won 2-1 at Kilmar-nock on Saturday and will meet First Division St Johnstone in the Sky game on Thursday March 7 — but

crowds are up by 25 per cent.
"We still have big financial worries," says Jefferies, "but the way the fans have responded has helped. They're coming back because they see player at Tynecastle, left Fal. | what we're trying to do. When kirk acrimoniously to join a | we lost at home to Aberdeen club without either money or, recently it was one of those

days when things just didn't go for us, but the fans left singing because they understood there Jefferies has no coaching

certificate with which to pro-claim his competence. He had

reached management level in the insurance business when the amateur team in the Bor-ders village of Lauder "pes-tered me" to help out in a crisis. From there to Hawick Royal Albert and Gala Fairy-dean until, in 1990, he gave up the day job shortly before his to the day job short by become the full-time manager of Falkirk.

"It's been about getting players to believe that what you're doing is right," he says. "I knew when farrived at Hearts that the club basically had to be changed. Players already ere were given a chance but I knew that, despite the charge a team gets initially from a new manager, the old habits would come back. When they

ponded brilliantly. "Hearts have let people down too much in the past to be setting targets at this stage. But we wouldn't fear meeting anybody who is left in the cup. I think none of the Premier sides left - Rangers, Celtic or Aberdeen - would fancy meeting us. But of course there is still a great

deal to do. There always is."

Tennis

did the changes were made, and the players have res-

#### Caledonian switch to Tannadice

CALEDONIAN Thistle's capacity Telford Street home.
Scottish Cup quarter final The Scottish Football Associagainst Rangers has been switched to Dundee United's Tannadice ground, a 250-mile round trip for the "home"

supporters. However, Rangers have agreed to send a team to Inverness to mark the opening of Caledonian's £3.5 million

stadium next season. The visit will be compensa-tion for the Third Division side, who had hoped the tie on field player Brian Hamilton. Saturday March 9 would be the last played at their 5,500- Dolan. 27, going to Tynecastle.

The Scottish Football Association ruled against; that on safety grounds, and blocked a lucrative switch to Ibrox.

The switch to Tannadice which holds 12,614, is likely to earn Thistle £50,000 from gate receipts. Dundee United visit Ceitic for their quarter-final the following day.

• Motherwell's manager Alex

McLeish is close to completing a swap deal to bring the mid-

URIBORID LEAGUE: President's Cape
First-round replays Boston v Alfrekm.
PONTINS LEAGUE: Second Division:
Postponed: Bradford C v Sunderland;
Port Vale v Hult. Third Division: Postponed: Sury v Lincole; Chesterfield v
Wigan: Rochdele v Scumhorpe; Stockport
v Walsott.
AVOIL TERMINIST

AVON INSURANCE COMMINATION

Ampton. ME OF WALES CUP: Granter-file-Tion Preference: Bobw Vale 1

**Rugby Union** CLUB MATCHER: Conselled: Camb Univ = Army, Newcastle Gostorth v caste Univ; Oxford Univ + Panguine.

Terriss
Surropean Community Champions
Ship (Aniverp): First round: A Volume
(Borry bi A Costa (Sp) 6-3.6-1; III Rement
(Switz) bi A Kosta (Sp) 6-3.6-1; III Rement
(Switz) bi D Varoni (Cz) 6-4.7-6. Second
rounds in Krajioni (Noth) bi K Kucurs
(Sh) 6-4.6-4.

10A CLASSIC (Dilahoma): First reunds
C Rubbin (US) bi P Striver (US) 6-7.6-3,
7-6. A Costars (SA) bi T Whitlinger-Sours
(US) 7-4.7-6.7 Labert (Arg) bi N Bradise
(Aun) 6-4.6-4. J. Bejedby (CT) bi P
hy-Boulais (Can) 4-8.6-4.6-7.2 K Adems
(US) bi F1; (China) 2-8.6-1.6-7.4 Grosszens (US) bi T2; (China) 2-8.6-1.6-7.4 Grosszens (US) bi D Graham (US) 6-2.7
1-8 L Porum (US) bi I Gorrochuspul (Arg)
2-6.6-2.6-3; K Madems (Bul) bi M Vanlo
(Ven) 6-3.6-4.6-7.

Basketball (MBA: Millertukes 92, New York 87; Orlands 123, Philadolphia: 104; Chicago 102, Crieve Land 75, Utah 112, Soston 95; Sun Antonio 108, Portland 106; LA Lakers 121, LA Clip pers 104.

Badminton

Bowls

WORLD INDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPP (Fresho): Singler Contro-Sunder Riche (Stop Engl) is J Henry (inv) 7-5. 0-7. 7-5 7-0. Pairm Geneter-Stodes K. Kerkowi Selestimski (Just) bit McMéhon/I Taylo (Aut) 3-7. 7-4, 7-0, 7-0. Chess

WOSSEN'S WORLD C'SSEP (Jas. Sp):
Gence 12: Z Polgar (Hut) 7, Xio Jun
(China) B. Phasi seever Polgar SK. Xie SE.
UK HATTOHAL LEAGUE (Simmingham):
Bristof 15. Wood Green 65, Richmond 3,
Woney S. Midlaunds 75, Croydon 5; Scribs
Chiess Magazine 5, Newconsile 3, North
West 5, South Wales 2; Ne Papma 15,
Stongh 65, Sillord 3, Heritord 5, Shase
langs (after els rounds): 1, Midlands 11
match pts; 2–3, Slough, Wilney 10; 4–5,
Wood Green, North Wast 8: 6 Richmond 7.

Cricket WILLS WORLD CIP: Group At Co-lember Zimbebug 228-6 (80 overs). Sri Lanks 229-4 (37.1 overs). Sri Lanks won by siz wicksta.

The L Porcel (US) bt I Gorrochangui (Arg)
2-6, 5-2, 6-3; K Malesem (Bul) bt M Vehic
(Ven) 6-3, 6-0; K Malesem (Bul) bt M Vehic
(Ven) 6-3, 6-0; K Malesem (Bul) bt M Vehic
(Ner) 9-3, 6-0; K Malesem (Bul) bt M Vehic
(Ser) 10 D Whaston (US) 6-4, 6-4; M Tebbatt (Aun) bt K Alarni (Mort 6-3, 6-3; M
3 Sobtemberg (Aun) bt T Carboned (Sp) 8-3,
7-6, J Ayabh (US) bt J Stark (US) 6-4, 3-6; M Tebbatt (Aun) bt K Alarni (Mort 6-3, 6-3; M
3 Sobtemberg (Aun) bt T Carboned (Sp) 8-3,
7-6, J Ayabh (US) bt J Stark (US) 6-4, 3-6; M
3 Sobtemberg (Aun) bt T Carboned (Sp) 8-3,
7-6, J Ayabh (US) bt J Stark (US) 6-4, 3-6; M
4 Genithenboy (Uf) P Residence (B) bt C
Moya (Sp) 7-6, 6-4 C
Moya (Sp) 7-6, 6-2

L'A MERIPS REDOOR SATELITE (Essbourne) Flord rounds & Galiemberd (II) bt
N Weal (US) 3-6, 6-1, 7-6; D Flood (US) bt
P Loren (US) 6-1, 6-7, 6-2; D Flood (US) bt
P Loren (US) 6-1, 6-7, 6-2; D Flood (US) bt
P Hamp (GS) 6-7, 8-4, 8-7; C Benefits
(Fin) bt R Wassen (Ho) 5-7, 8-2, B hamb (Ven)
bt R Malheson (GS) IX Society (Swe) IX 1 Gend (II)
IX-5, 6-4; C Stamoptohev (Bol) bt A 16binov (Mac) 8-4, 8-4; S Hempfortes (US) bt
P Hamp (GS) 8-7, 8-4, 8-7; C Benefits
(GS) bt C Drapev (GS) 8-3, 6-3, D Supeford (GS) bt C Noggard (SA) 8-1, 6-4.
ESSEN WOMER'S TOURNAMENT: Plast
vends & Carbons (Bel) bt M Schorel (Aux)
(Swe) 0-6, 6-4, 6-1

R Rittsee (Ber) bt S Remodium (Se) 8-4, 8-6, 8-2;
R Rittsee (Ber) bt S Remodium (Gre) 5-3; A Rebise (Eng) bt C Stamoptohev (Bol) 5-4, 8-4, 6-7;
C-3 A Glazza (Pol) bt K Maroin (Hun) 8-0,
C-1 S Wachtershauseier (Ger) bt J Luffova

September (Sa) bt K Maroin (Hun) 8-0,
C-1 S Wachtershauseier (Ger) bt J Luffova

MARIP CHARLES (Sp) bt C Stamo
(Bere) bt K Maroin (Hun) 8-0,
C-1 S Wachtershauseier (Ger) bt J Luffova

Marie (La)

September (Ber) bt A Newther (Ber)

September

**Fixtures** 

Soccer First-count replays the Util v Look To, Postfills LEAGUE: Prest Stoke v Bi-mingham G (7.0), Newcastle v Notten Forest (8.0); Leeds v Blackburn (7.0), Seconds Grinsby v Backpool (7.0), Seconds Grinsby v Backpool

Rugby Union TOUR MATCH: Mossiley v Portugal

Rugby League

ALLIANCE CHALLENGE CUP: Secon recard Hallax v & Helena (7.20); Shelile v Widnes (7.30). Second Divisions Blac pool v Whitehaven (7.30). Owing to the IRA bomb

which damaged the Guardian's London printing press we are unable to carry last night's football in this edition. Repairs are being made to our plant and we hope to • The British duo Clare

Wood and Sam Smith were the LTA Women's Challenger in Redbridge, Essex yester-day. Wood, the British No. 1 from Brighton, lost 6-2, 6-2 to Olga Barabanschikova of Belarus, while Essex's Smith was beaten 5-7, 6-1, 6-1 by the Japanese qualifier Haruka Inoue. The fourth seed Wood was out of sorts against her 16-year-old opponent, dropping her serve four times in a 90-minute encounter.

Smith, a wild-card entry. put up a much better display against Inoue, who upset top seed Laura Golarsa in the first round. She hung on to take the first set after squandering a 5-3 lead, before the 18-year-old qualifier began to

take control.

The unbeaten light-middle-weight Adrian Dodson will defend his WBO inter-continental title against Spain's Javier Castillejo at York Hall. Bethnal Green. The fight is one of six Barry Hearn has signed with ITV, the next two coming on April 18 featuring Ireland's WBO walterweight champion Ramonn Loughran, and Dodson again on May 4. The other three fights are. scheduled for later in 1996.

#### (Pus) 6-8, 7-9; K Pace (US) bt M Mercz (Pol) 7-5, 7-9; D van de Zusch (Bol) bt C (Nor) 3.32.20; 1, G Mader (Aut) 3.32.20; 4, M Rusta (Bol) bt C (Nor) 3.32.20; 1, S M Kuzz (Bio) bt S Smith (GB) 8-7, 8-1, 6-1; O Burnhamodi (Nor) 3.32.20; 4, D Walker (Bel) at C Wood (GB) 2.0, G Seil (GB) 2.48.27; 41, D Walker (GB) 4.11.67. Kendall moves for Walker (Bel) 2.48.27; 41, D Walker (GB) 4.11.67. Kendall moves for Walker (GB) 2.50.20; G Seil (GB) 2.48.27; 41, D Walker (GB) 4.11.67. Fixtures as Claridge moves nowhere

OWARD KENDALL is on the verge of signing the Celtic striker Andy Walker for £500,000 in an attempt to turn the fortunes of Sheffield United, who are one place off the bottom of the First Division. Celtic have accepted United's offer and the player was in Sheffield yesterday to discuss terms.

Walker joined Celtic from Bolton in 1994 for a cut-price tribunal fee of \$550,000 after Bolton had demanded \$2 million for the out-of-contract player. He had been Wanderers' leading scorer for two successive years but has been unable to reproduce that form regularly in his native

regularly in his native country and has been forced out of Celtic's first team.

Last week Kendali had a fi million bid for Manchester City's Republic of Ireland striker Niall Quinn blocked by the Premiership chub. Birmingham's striker Steve

Claridge has had his proposed 21.2 million move to Leicester blocked by his manager Barry Fry.
The striker is involved in a

pay dispute with the First Division club and looked set to make the switch across the Midlands after talks with Leicester's manager Martin O'Neill But Fry recalled him to Birmingham's first team on Tuesday and said: "As far as I am concerned the whole thing is off. Claridge stays here and sees out the remaining 18 months of his contract. | zeck is suspended.

"The club has given him two contracts in the space of a few months and he's the second-highest paid player here behind Mark Ward. who's on Premiership wages after coming from Everton.
"He moans that other

people who come to the club are on more money than him. That's absolute rubbish. He's on 10 times more money than some people in the team. Claridge said: "To say it is difficult to play now is the understatement of the year. I'm totally bewildered and disappointed at the way

things have been handled."
The Ghansian internationals Sammy Adjel and Steve Baidoo have travelled to Scotland to pursue possible careers with Kilmarnock. Adjei, a left-back, and Baidoo, a midfielder, will be in Scotland for 10 days while Kilmarnock's manager Alex Totten assesses them. Manchester City's manager

Des

tot

Clug

E

Alan Ball has signed Birming-ham's Scott Hiley on loan mtil the end of the season to bolster his defensive ranks. which have been depleted by injury and suspension.

The 27-year-old full-back played under Ball at Exeter before moving to Birmingham for £100,000 in March 1993. He may play for City against the Premiership leaders Newcastle United at Maine Road on Saturday as the left-back Michael Front-

#### Republic holds crisis talks

Association of Ireland thickened last night when a crisis meeting was held to discuss the standing of the game in

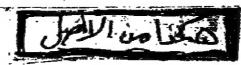
the Republic.
Top of the agenda is believed to have been the resignation of Joe McGrath, the FAI's director of coaching, who departed yesterday — five days after the equally sudden resignation of the chief executive Sean

Also on last night's agenda was the handling of Jack | World Cup finals.

HE air of impending crisis | Charlton's resignation as surrounding the Football | Republic manager in Decem-Republic manager in December and the methods used in the search for a successor.

Mick McCarthy was appointed manager this month amid much media fanfare. But within 24 hours of the appointment the FAI president Louis Kilcoyne said on Irish radio that McCarthy had not been his first choice to fill the

The FAI is also believed to have discussed an alleged I£200,000 shortfall from its allocation of tickets for the 1994



#### WORLD CUP CRICKET

### Indians ride their luck on Lara and Tendulkar

Derek Grundy in Gwaller

NDIA, extravagantly favoured by fortune, trounced West Indies under the floodlights here by five wickets with 62 balls to spare. They took Brian Lara's wicket in fortuitous circumstances when he had made two — through a ques-tionable decision by the Paki-stani umpire Khalzer Hayat and then, requiring only
 174, saw Sachin Tendulkar enjoy two early lives before making a match-winning 70.

Tendulkar, batting masterfully, made his runs off 91 balls and took India within 49 of their objective. His escapes were on 12 and 22. The first, at

off the legs, was forgivable but not the dolly that Browne. the wicketkeeper, dropped when Tendulkar miscued a

short-arm pull at Bishop. Tendulkar's dismissal then would have reduced India to 35 for three. The foundation to their innings had been joited by Ambrose in a fiery opening spell. Tendulkar's ally in restoring their for-tunes was Azharuddin at his most elegant. They added 79 in 16 overs.

Apart from the substance they provided, the speed of it was insurance against the luli that followed Tendulkar's dismissal from a self-inflicted

West Indies' bowling varied in quality. Their emphasis on leg-stump line in the early stages of the Tendulkar-Azharuddin stand was expensive, as both batsmen were strong off the legs.

They also paid a high price

for bowling short at Kambli, who with Mongla rapidly got the final 47 runs. Perhaps reminded of Kambli's panic against the bouncer during last year's Test series between the countries, they often dug the ball in at him. But the pitch was so slow that the little left-hander hooked and pulled with relish.

The sharp fall in momen-tum which followed Tendulkar's dismissal and the quick departure of Prabhakar held out promise of a tight finish.
But Mongia flicked off his legs, cut waspishly and looked so assured that Kamhli, weighed down for a while, again cut loose With 20 runs left, Ambrose was recalled for a last desnerate fling. His gambit was a short ball at Kambli, which was hooked for six. Furious, he bowled a high full-toss, which was called a no-ball,

and the over resulted in 10 runs, taking India to victory's doorstep.
West Indies' own batting
was undistinguished, though they were due much sympa-thy for the fate of Lara. The ball from Srinath was a good one but the television replay

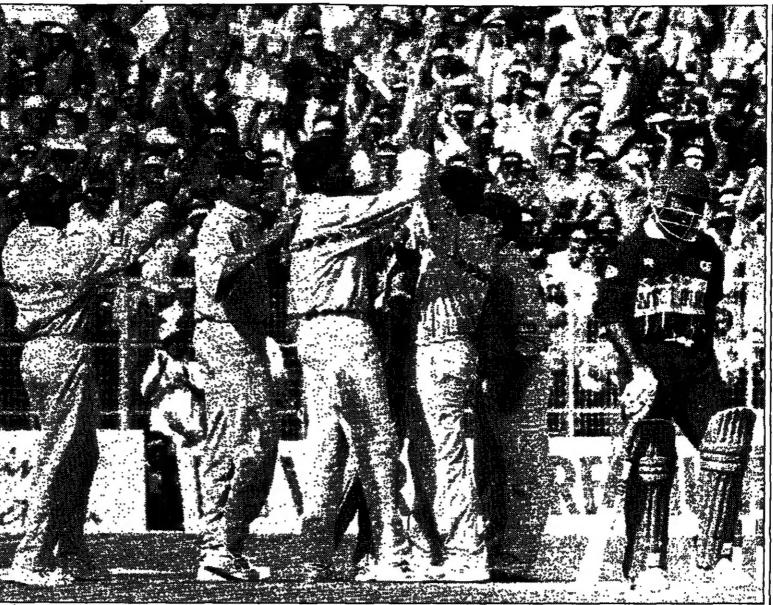
left little doubt that the deflec-tion was off the top of the pad. His exit left West Indies forlorn at 16 for two. Richardson batted responsibly, if not im-pressively, to redeem the situation with Chanderpaul, who showed authority before suc-cumbing to an astounding catch at short midwicket by Azharuddin.

Their partnership of 75, the breach of which led to the fall of two more quick wickets was the crux of the innings although Harper and Browne put on 42 for the sixth wicket.

R S Rucherosco b Prachestar b Prachestar b Prachestar B C Lars c Mongle b Srineth S Chanderpaul c Azheruddin b Kapoor B I C Holder b Kumble A Harper b Kumble

D Jadeja b Ambros R Tendulkar run out S Sidhu b Ambrosa

Total (for 5, 39.4 overs) 174
Fall of unlabets: 2, 15, 64, 125, 127.
Bid not beth A R Kumble, J Srinath, Ven-lutest Presed, A R Kupcor.
Bowring: Ambrose 8-1-41-2; Waish 9-3-18-0; Bishop 5-0-28-0; Gibson 8.4-0-50-0; Harper 9-1-34-2.



High-fives and low-two . . . India celebrate the dismissal of Lara, caught at the wicket for two off what the TV replay indicated was his pad 🛭 АЛТ КИМАР

### Win for Sri Lanka under armed guard

Our Correspondent

RI LANKA, the team no-Shody wanted to play, finally opened their World Cup campaign yesterday in conditions of tight seurity in Colombo.

Kent batsman Aravinda de ments, and several brass
Armed policemen stood Silva steered Sri Lanka to a bands entertained the

cern about the state of his spinning finger as Austra-

guard inside and outside the six-wicket victory over Zim-stadium and traffic was babwe in the Group A match. barred from all roads leading to the ground, but supporters turned up in their thousands. They had pleuty to cheer as a third-wicket stand of 172 by

Warne had two cortisone

Worried Warne points the finger at his finger

SHANE WARNE has ad-mitted to long-term con-ment and has even dis-

tomorrow.
Hailed by Pakistan's leaving for the sub-continent earlier this month, but has continued to experi-

the best leg-spinner in his- he has continued to experi-

tory, Warne is to have a ence difficulties.

Queues formed hours be-fore the start, and every into a thorough body search. Bottles and cans were confis-Asanka Gurusinha and the cated but not musical instru-

"Everybody's got little niggles but this is worse than a little niggle. The

doctors think it's a little bit

capacity crowd of 20,000. The crowd applauded the Zimbabwean players throughout, recognising their courage in coming to a city where more than 80 people were

blows up by a huge bomb on January 31. The refusal of the Australia and West Indies sides to play there leaves Sri

bone scan after the tournament and has even districted it long-term," said Warne, stretched ligaments in there, but no one really knows the full thing. When lia prepare to make their belated entry into the World Cup against Kenya Australian summer and years in succession.

Warne had two cortisone tory to take 50 wickets in a calendar year for three years in succession.

I get back I'll be having a bone scan, so we'll have to wait and see. "Rest doesn't necessarily

work. I think rest helps the body but it doesn't help the finger too much. The more I of arthritis and that there | keep going the better."

Lanks, co-hosts of the World Cup with India and Pakistan, reduced to two matches in-stead of four — yesterday's and another against Kenya on March 6.

Zimbabwe made 228 for six in 50 overs, but Sri Lanka overhauled them in only 37 overs for the loss of four wickets. Gurusinha (67) and de Silva (91) easily surpassed Sri Lanka's previous World Cup best for the third wicket, a stand of 88 by Roy Dias and Gurusinha against England. Both openers went with only 23 runs on the board, but Gurusinha cut loose with six huge sixes and five fours and

de Silva hit two sixes and 10 fours. Zimbabwe's captain Andy Flower used seven bowlers against them, but it was only by a run-out that the partnership was finally

ising in employment law, said it would snowball. Two hours

Norster, the former Lion, described the association as "an advice clinic. It will give

the players a collective voice

and put them at the centre of

rugby union as the game develops".

union turned professional

only in October — until then players' interests were the

last thing the Rugby Football Union considered — yester-day's launch was remarkable.

The Professional Footballers

el, was founded in 1907 and the PCA, the cricketers'

union, is a child of the Sixties

Rupa will represent players at any level. That means a po-

tential membership of 500,000

and, with a subscription of £1

a week, it could soon exercise

financial as well as collective

muscle. Moon said: "We can repre-

sent a player at any disciplin-ary hearing or contractual ne-

gotiation as well as offer help

with legal advice, accident and disability cover, personal

and vocational training and anything else."

Association, Rupa's role mod-

Considering that rugby

### Referee for bans

Mike Selvey on a tough proposal from John Reid to punish code violators

ALEADING match referee yesterday urged that players be suspended rather than fined for breaking the In-ternational Cricket Coun-

cil's code of conduct.

John Reid, the former New Zealand captain who will officiate in today's group B match between England and Holland, feels that fines are becoming in-effective because they are not being paid by the players themselves.

The code and the match referees to administer it have been in place since before the last World Cup. At first it belped to halt the de-cline in standards of behavjour but the feeling now is that some players are beginning to ignore aspects of the code because they know they will not be out of pocket even if the maximum fines are imposed on

Reid, regarded as a tough but fair referee, said: "We all know that sponsors, including sports equipment manufacturers, get together to pay the players' fines. But in a competition like this [the World Cup] where sides have only 14 players to choose from, you will certainly get their at-tention if you take a player

Match referees already have the power to suspend players for major offences but a fine is the usual punthing like serious dissent. The maximum fine is half the match fee a player would receive in a home

series. In England this is deducted at source by the Test and County Cricket Board, although that by no means precludes an under-thecounter repayment. Two seasons ago in the series against South Africa the England captain Mike Athhanding over money to the match referee Peter Burge (£3,000 in all) that he beginning to consider himself an amateur.

Reid believes that the amount and intensity of cricket coverage - around 400 hours in this tournament with numerous cameras including close-up and super-slow motion to accentuate action - creates "trial by television" for

umpires.
"There is no doubt that referees has led to a dra-matic improvement in player behaviour," he said, "and the the third umpire and television replays have taken some of the heat out of dicey situations.

"But the cameras cannot cover beyond-the-line deck-sions because there is a foreshortening of the pic-ture. For catches the umpire has to hear the click, see the deflection and take notice of the body

language."
Mistakes, of course, will still be made. Yesterday, for example, Brian Lara may have been victim of an injustice, and the Zimba-bwe captain Andy Flower, who might have "done a Cronje", most certainly was. Both handled them-selves well but in a more tense match situation their reaction might have been

Reid wants team officials to emphasise the threat of suspensions and remind players that matters are in their own hands.
'I don't think managers

and coaches pass on to their teams the potential damage that a suspension can do to their hopes," he said. "But erees are pretty serious about the situation."

#### Rugby Union

## and bury them

Robert Armstrong

SCOTLAND's manager
Jim Telfer yesterday
persisted with his policy of
praising England in a lowkey propaganda build-up to
next week's Calcutta Cup
match at Murrayfield. The Scots, who have named an unchanged side for the fourth straight game, need to win to complete their first Grand Slam since

"England are one of the best, if not the best, sides in the northern hemisphere." said Telfer, ignoring the fact that France defeated them 15-12 last month. "We have not beaten them in six Five Nations matches since 1990."

The selectors have kept faith with the wing Craig Joiner even though his second-half replacement against Wales. Kenny Logan, gave an outstanding performance. But Telfer said Scotland were far from happy with their overall display in the 16-14 vic-tory. "We started off well tory. We started off well with a penalty goal in the first minute but it was then eight minutes before we

had possession. The squad will train at Murrayfield on Sunday. though Telfer said they would not be over-trained in the build-up. "We're ad-vising the players not to do extra training. They are as fit as they'll ever be and we recognise that the last three matches have put a lot of physical and mental pressure on them."

Pressure of Creaman (Moirose); C Joiner (Moirose); S Hastings (Watsonians), I derdine (Stirling County). M Dods (Northampton); G Townmand (Northampton). B Redgath (Moirose); B Hitten (Bath), K MoKenale (Stirling County). B Wright, (Borguenhuilr). Militos (Saih), K Motenzie (String County), P Wright (Boroughmuir), S Campbell (Dundoe HSFP), Q Welt (Moloce), H Waimwright (Watsonians, Capi) E Peters (Saih), I Smith (Gisuccaler), Replacements: K Logan (Saring County), C Caabners (Melrose), Q Arrestrong (Newcasile), S Murray (Edinburgh Acadomicals), P Bernell (London Scottieh), J Hay (Hawick). • The Millennium Commission yesterday postponed an announcement on whether it | sured a 4-1 victory over will donate £47 million of Lot- | Bulgaria. tery money to develop Car-dill's National Stadium.

### Telfer seeks to praise England Players break old ranks and form union

cussed the possibility of who in December became surgery.



#### **Devereux** is determined to be first dual player

OHN DEVEREUX, the Widnes and Great Britain rugby league utility back.

ENGLAND followed the shock of seeing their No. 1 woman Joanne Muggeridge

lose the opening encounter

with a steady recovery in

which both the men's and the

women's sides made winning

starts at the World Team

Muggeridge's startling

12-11, 2-11, 11-1 defeat by the world No. 87 Nely Nedjalkova

may well have been the result

of tension but it did not ap-

pear to affect the rest of the

women, who comfortably en-

Today's match is against

Canada. Yesterday Mugger- nal cysis.

Championships yesterday.

All clear after Muggeridge

Badminton

League One club next season. Brian Wilkinson, Sale's chief executive, forecast that it would be the first of many such deals by northern clubs "This sort of arrangement, which clubs like Sale and Or-

rell are best positioned to carry out, bodes well for the future of the northern gas Deversux, who will be 30 next month, envisages no problem in playing year-round. Twe played top level rugby league 12 months of the year [for Widnes and the Australian club Manly] in the past and you can't get a better test of one's ability. Lots of players have done that over It was in 1989 that Dever-eux, who had made 21 appear

ances for Wales, signed for Widnes after the Lions tour of Australia. His last union match was at Brisbane against an Anzac XV including Michael Lynagh, who recently signed for Saracens. Sale's player-coach Paul Turner, with whom Devereux played on his last appearance for Wales, said: "What at-tracted John to union again

dge seemed preoccupied with

the fact that she has only 10

weeks to confirm her qualifi-

The men, by contrast, had a

satisfactory start to their day.

The former European cham-pion Darren Hall overcame

the world No. 69 Dariuz Zieba

15-7, 15-7 and after that all

the victories came in straight

games as England advanced

to a 5-0 success over Poland.

But there were valuable

world team championship de-

buts for Julia Mann. Nicola

Beck and John Quinn. The

national champion Anders

Nielsen survived comfortably

against Michael Logosz after

having cortisone injections in

knees made painful by inter-

cation for the Olympics.

signed a one-year contract was the way we play here. I see with Sale yesterday to play up him benefiting our side in all to 20 matches for the Courage positions behind the scrum." Whether Devereux, who would prefer to play union at centre, will be available for an entire season is in doubt, especially as the dates for competitive matches have to be finalised. With the new RL Super League running from March 28 to September 29 there is a two-month overlap.
Sale's rugby league recruiting drive may extend to another Welshman, the Salford
forward David Young. Also being discussed is a possible ground-sharing scheme with

David Campese has rejected a £500,000 offer to play for Rob Andrew's Newcastle Gosforth, saying his priority is to extend his inter-national career. He may con-sider a £250,000 two-year contract if he fails to earn

 England's new recruit Garath Archer is doubtful for Bristol's Pilkington Cup quarter-final clash with the holders Bath on Saturday with a knee injury, but is unlikely to miss the Calcutta Cup game with Scotland at Murrayfield

Sport in brief

The McLaren-Mercedes of Finland's Mika Hakkinen was

fastest around the Estoril

track yesterday on a day marked by the problems of the world champion Michael

Schumacher's Ferrari. Hakkinen lapped the 2.73-mile track in 1min 20.879ec.

eight-tenths of a second

quicker than Damon Hill in

his Williams-Renault and the

Brazilian Ruben Barrichello's

on Tuesday to test the new

Ferrari retired after seven

laps with mechanical failure.

the Sweater Shop Interna-

tional Open of its title favour-

Schumacher, who arrived

Jordan-Peugeot

Snooker

**Motor Racing** 



Moon . . . leading light

#### tight to look after their interests

Paul Weaver

swallowed up in the Victorian vastness of the Great Western Royal Hotel, beside Paddington Station. The cheer leaders Bob Norster, whose biggest challenge will be to persuade people that Rupa is not flog-ging private health insurance, had his address interrupted by a Tannoy announcement. The waiters served water and white wine, hardly the stuff of rugby folk — beer and aftershave might have gone down better — and the press conference ended almost be-

This would have been all

right if everyone had known

resenting the Professional

Cricketers' Association.

Basketball

fore it started, in invitations to conduct "one-to-ones".

# Players bind

### everyone else, but Richard Dunwoody was there as joint president of the Jockeys' Association of Great Britain — asked if he played rugby for the colts, he replied: "No, I ride them" — and so was David Graveney, looking a little like an ageing lock but rep-

THE Rugby Union Players' Association was launched in London yesterday, starting

Lawler defeated the world

champion's practice partner Billy Snaddon by the same 5-3 scoreline in Swindon yes-

terday, writes Cline Everton.

England yesterday suffered

another major injury blow

only hours before the start of

the inaugural Super League World Nines in Fiji with the

loss of the Keighley centre Nick Pinkney. The 25-year-old

has been ruled out of the

tournament, which kicked off

in the early hours this morn-

He will return home as

soon as possible England, who lost their captain Denis

Betts with an ankle injury on

send for a replacement for

Pinkney and will carry on

Twelve hours after depriving | Tuesday, do not have time to

ite Stephen Hendry, Rod with a 14-man squad.

ing, with a stomach virus.

Rugby League

#### Rupa is already impressive. The secretary Richard Moon. a former England B scrum

#### Shot-shy England madden

self-consciously and ending | half who is a solicitor special-with a precocious swagger. | ising in employment law. said

later it had.

HE pet hate of Laszlo Ne-meth is a team who do not at least try a shot every time they embark on an offence. Three times it happened to England in the second half at Crystal Palace and three times the national coach was left tearing his grey hair out as his Hungarian compatriots dispossessed the home players to score.

Hungary pulled away by 13 points before settling for a 90-80 victory to undermine England's preparations for next week's European Championship game in Russia.

pear the basket if you do not shoot it? All you do then is make it easy for the other

team to score. Steve Bucknall was one exception to Nemeth's com-plaints on Tuesday. With 21 points he was England's top scorer and provided umpteen assists for Ian Whyte and Neville Austin. Yet, if Whyte and Austin could follow the example of the 7ft 2in Laszlo Czigler and David Kornel and learn to shoot from distance. they would make their coach

a happy man.
"We came close to playing
to our maximum ability in the first half," he said. "But Hungary showed they could not only jump higher but "What is the point," asked not only jump higher if the coach. "of taking the ball shoot better and run faster.

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# SportsGuardian

#### CAPRIATI MARKS HER COMEBACK WITH RESOUNDING VICTORY



Returning powerfully . . . Jennifer Capriati surges to a straight-sets win on her reappearance on the WTA Tour in Essen yesterday. Story, page 13

## Sky hits Bruno fans in pocket

First pay-TV screening means boxing followers must find extra £9.95 for Las Vegas title contest

fired the first shots of a sports broadcasting frevolution yesterday when Sky confirmed that next | offers potentially massive fimonth's Frank Bruno-Mike nancial rewards. Tyson fight in Las Vegas will be available live only on a time the system has been attempted in Britain. Sky Sports subscribers will have to find a further \$2.95 to | was merely an experiment.

UPERT MURDOCH gamble for Sky, which has come under heavy fire from politicians during debates on

cheap by American stanpay-per-view basis, the first dards, is an attempt to easi the birth pangs of the technology.

see the fight, which starts at | David Chanca, deputy manag-2am British time on March 17. Ing director, said: "We have The move is a huge political on other plans for pay-perunique event in terms of British sport. "The technology is in place

but as to whether pay-per-view comes to the UK in a big The pricing of the event way, who knows? But we have absolutely no plans at the moment." He denied there were any plans to introduce it for Premiership football. Sky was adamant that it Trevor East, executive head

no intention of pay-per-view in future."

The English promoter
Frank Warren was bullish view. Obviously this is a about the long-term prospects: "If it is a success, obviously I am going to be pressing for it. It is my job to make sure boxers get as big a purse as they can and I have got to use every opportunity I can to maximise that."

He added: "This fight was never part of the Sky Sports monthly package. The alter-native was to go to a cinema of Sky Sports, is well aware of | and pay £25 and I'm sure at | Don King. If negotiations had

a possible backlash. He said: the end of the day, if I'm a broken down, the fight would "It has to be balanced with an acute awareness of the needs of our subscribers. We have off or whatever, I'd like to be clubs. in my own home watching

> Sky refused to give a figure for the light that it would consider a success, but five per cent of the 5 million households with access to its channels would add up to a satisfactory night. The record for a pay-per-view take-up for boxing in the United States is

eight per cent.
Sky says it had no choice but to agree to pay-per-view, because it was a condition set

Jack Cunningham, shadow Heritage Secretary, said: "People are increasingly con-cerned about the availability of sport on television Labour is determined to sport on TV in the Broadcasting Bill."
Whitehall sources said it

was inevitable that pay-per-view services would develop in Britain as they had in the US. Digital television's arrival is likely to increase the number of one-off events with addifional charges to viewers. Sporting bodies and individual clubs will want to launch their own revenue-earning pay channels, and few digital services apart from BBC, ITV and Channel 5 are likely to be

### Humble man who never walked alone



Frank Keating

family's request for privacy, gathered outside when the red and white roses, was carried into St Peter's, Woolton. ng memorial service in the city in the spring. His widow Jessie, their

three children and seven grandchildren led the mourners, who included a number of players from Paisley's recordreaking teams as well as the four managers who succeeded him — Joe Fagan, Kenny Dalg-lish, Graeme Souness and Roy

Two of those, Fagan and Evans, would have been ruminating through moist eyes on the days when all the blazing red fires that were too hot for Europe were lit in the Anfield t, was instituted by the late Bill Shankly after he arrived o manage the dingy Second Division club at Christmas 1959 and kept on the two back-room boys from the previous regime, Fagan and Paisley. By sad but, somehow, touch-

ing fluke, this very day is pub-lished an enlightening biography, Shankly (Virgin £14.99) by Stephen F Kelly, which richly celebrates the founder of the feast. Kelly writes: "As the pundits searched for an explanation for Liverpool's success, they hit upon the pootroom as a sort of Tardis with magical powers. There was nothing special about it, no brainstorming sessions, no there was any magic, it came

from that small group who gathered within its four walls . and all that came out of that bootroom was plain com-mon sense, although by 1970 it had become a shrine.

ND you can just picture it: a pot of tea on the hob, Shankly in his woolly cardie, Paisley in his slippers, Fagan and Ronnie Moran still in their tracksuits. "Young so and so didn't look too bright this morning," Paisley would mutter in his north-east vernacular, "Probably out too

late last night." someone else would suggest. "Better have a word." Shankly would add. "Or give him a run in the

Cosy little natters at elevenses which, in their way, girdled the globe. As pictures of yesterday's funeral will have.
The Geordie adopted—and how! — by the Scousers knew he would be buried at St Peter's, which he and Jessie attended each Sunday for would tell of the finest night of his career, after Liverpool had won the first of their Euro-pean Cups, soundly thrushing Borussia Mönchengladbach in Rome. The Liverpool party afterwards was at the Holiday Inn. just down from St Peter's itself. It remains the all-tune most memorable party. For one thing it was the last of its type. It was still (just) the age of soccer's innocence. The press were invited, and the world and his wife were

allowed to gatecrash so long as they were decked in red. NUMBER of the obits to Paisley mentioned that however much the champagne bubbled (and it did), the beaming manager bursting out of his ill-fit-ting Burton's blue suit refused to take a drink - so that he could "drink in the atmosphere and the achievement".

Well, true in fact but not in theory. Halfway through the do a big mitt gripped my arm fondly. "A Keating's a boy who should know," said Bob.
"D'you think there's any chance of getting a bottle of Guinness round here?" I searched every nook. The St Peter's Holiday Inn did not stock Guinness. "Ah me." said Bob, "that means only me and the Pope up the road, and Horace [Yates, the teetotal sports editor of the Liverpool Daily Post] over there, are the only three sober men in Rome

tonight."

By then the joint was dancing. Lo and behold, they struck up the Gay Gordons. Paisley joined in one set with us, grin on full beam. Then he went to bed, a happy man. The very happiest of men.

Before he pattered off to the lift to get into those favourite slippers and glance at his lifelong favourite (ex-miner and brickie) Daily Mirror on the late-night loo, he had said something, passingly matterof-fact and prophecy, that I quoted (doubtless slurringly) in these pages next day. No football club in those days was sponsored, but the spivs were alking such revolution. "Sponsors?" Bob winced as we walked to the lift. "Sign up with them and they'll be picking the team for you inside a formight." And so it has come to pass. RIP.

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### Thumbs down for pay-TV

Andrew Culf on a new survey showing minimal support for big-show surcharges

DUBLIC hostility to pay-per-view television was revealed yes-terday in a survey which finds two-thirds of cable and satellite households unlikely to pay extra to watch selected events. The population as a

whole is even more tren-chantly opposed, 72 per cent claiming they were likely to use pay-per-view. These findings, from the monthly survey by CIA MediaLab, are bad news for BSkyB, which is about to pioneer the pay-TV market in Britain. Anthony Jones, head of CIA MediaLab, said the Bruno-Tyson fight would "show how far financially the British public are

prepared to go".
The survey, conducted among 500 adults, demon-strated a wide public relac-tance to pay extra for TV sport. Sixty-two per cent said they would be unwill-ing to pay an extra £5 on the licence fee to enable the BBC to bid for more events. an idea floated last month



The bait . . . Tyson and Bruno, on small screens for big money

by Robert Atkins, a former Minister for Sport, who said it would raise £100 million a year.

Eighty per cent supported legislation to ensure that the eight "listed" events—the so-called "sporting crown jewels" including the Grand National, Wimbledon and the FA Cup final — remained available on mainstream channels.

The finding echoes the mood of the House of Lords, which a fornight ago passed an amendment to the Broadcasting Bill aimed at keeping the events on ter-restrial television. The Government is likely to make concessions on the

Robert Atkins, a former | the Commons and may also support moves to ensure BBC and ITV access to highlights when Sky Sports Jones said: "The public clearly wants political in-tervention to ensure that sports coverage is available on terrestrial television,

willing to pay for it." A separate survey from the media buyers Universal McCann delivered better news for BSkyB. It found 27 per cent in the 15-24 age group would sign up to cable and satellite if Sky Sports won exclusive rights to Wimbledon, the Grand National Test cricket and issue when it is debated in | the FA Cupfinal.

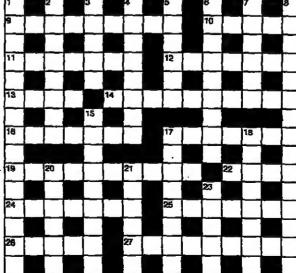


The sequence when Renton grovels for the remains of his hit down a lavatory basin equates the nightmare in his brain with the physical state he's in with grisly aptitude. All the characters are so recognisable that you don't know whether to laugh or cry.

Films **G2 page 8** 

#### **Guardian Crossword No 20,582**

Set by Rufus



Across 9 The point of this device may not be apparent (6-3)

10,21 Unusual order to stand aside (3,2,3,3) 11 Late deliveries outstanding

12 Still in a terrible fluster (7) 13 It should contain enough water to go round (4) 14 A stew keeps? Perhaps, but it's a gamble (10)

16 Make nothing of it (7) 17 One may peg out playing it out of doors (7)

19 Put one's finger on a measure to determine the gold standard (10) 22 Spanish river bore in

24 Organise a row on a river (7) 25 Wild boar in one African city

Employers requiring faultless service in the US (5) 27 Doctor meant to go round some accommodation (9) Down

1 Will the leaves be disturbed by it? (1,5,2,1,6) 2 Could mean coming in last, everything considered (5,3)

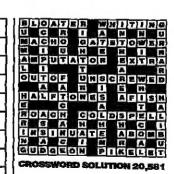
3 French study involves notes (5) 4 Wade about in a Scottish river for sport (8)

5 Falsely disloyal (6) 6 Work of a forger, bent but possibly lucky (9)

7 Man - a Scottish isle? (6) 8 its members have a great deal in common (8) 15 Unprincipled and corrupt

hedonists (9)

17 Holy orders? (5,3)



18 Complete description of a musteng? (8) 20 Allow more line to run out to the fish (6)

21 see 10 across 23 Key list put out of government securities (5)

Solution temerrow

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